EXPERIENCES OF A PLANTER.

VOL. I.

THE EXPERIENCES OF A PLANTER

IN THE

JUNGLES OF MYSORE.

BY ROBERT H. ELLIOT.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

LONDON:
CHAPMAN AND HALL, 193, PICCADILLY.
1871.

226. i. 230.

to, and to thank very heartily, Colonel Meade, the Chief Commissioner of Mysore, Dr. Forbes Watson, and several other officers of Government, who have kindly supplied me with valuable information. It is impossible for me to mention here all the gentlemen to whom I am under obligations; but I must not omit to add that I am under particular obligations to Professor Goldstücker, Professor Anderson of Glasgow University, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.—MYSELF.

PAGE
Myself—Munzerabad—Starting the Plantation 1
Big Game Shooting—Jungle Pets—Native Visitors 18

CHAPTER II.—MY NATIVE NEIGHBOURS.

Wellesley's Occupation of Munzerabad 39
Scenery—Classification of the People—Cultivation 42
Farmers readily take to Trade 46
Farm-houses—Farmers—Dress—Description 47
Tody-drawers 53
Whollyers, or Helot Class 55
Ethnological Division—Religious Notions 57
Devils—Offerings to Devils 60
Segee Feast—Firebrand Fighting 67
Pulling the Idol Chariot 68
Decay of Brahminical Influence—Other Feasts 71
Feast to the Dead 72
Gods and Goddesses—Causes of Devil-worship 73
Devil-worship in the Plains—Action of Devils 75
Disinterring Lepers to cause Rainfall—The Evil Eye 77
Increase of Marriage Expenses in various Castes 78
    Partly due to People hoarding Cash instead of Grain 79
    Dangers of this 80
Marriage Ceremonies 81
A Widow's Marriage Ceremonies 85
Funeral Rites 86
Canarese Language spoken 88
Food of the People—Knowledge of Plants and edible Fungi 89

CHAPTER III.—NATIVE CHARACTER—PRIVATE RELATIONS OF LIFE.

Gratitude and Ingratitude—Instances of 91
Veracity—Exaggerations—No Truth where Fear prevails 99

PAGE
Other Causes of Lying—Lies not unknown in England 104
General Sense of Fairness—Honest-dealing Farmers 108
Native Way of looking at Death 111
Hanging a Murderer—Notions as to Murders 113
Keeping Wives in Order—Influence of Widows 118
Treatment of Children—Political Opinions 121
Munzerabad Native Manners—Peculiarities of 122
Powers of Memory 126
Instances of Courage 129
Native Theatricals—The Way to be popular 132
Proverbs seldom used—Enterprising Farmers 136
Vis Inertiæ—Effects of Climate on active Morality 138
Various Anecdotes—Odds and Ends 142
Summary and General Conclusions 146

CHAPTER IV.—NATIVE CHARACTER—CURRENT AND WRITTEN OPINIONS.

Difficulties as to forming Correct Conclusions 151
Tendency of Peoples to form Bad Opinions of each other 153
Experiences of the first Protestant Missionaries 156
English Opinions—Unmeasured Abuse 163
Missionary Misrepresentations 166
Explanation of obscene Mythological Rites 168
Opinion of Abbé Dubois on Native Domestic Morality 170
A Missionary Writer's Stock in Trade 172
Recent Abuse of Natives by English Writers 173
Importance of arresting this Tone 174
Opinions current in Anglo-Indian Society 175
Few fit to form a Fair Opinion 179
Importance of forming Correct Opinions 180
Varies with the Circumstances 182
Irish and Scotch Characteristics to be found in India 183
Summary 185

CHAPTER V.—BRIBERY.

Corruption in Russia 188
Bribery in England 192
Its Effects on the Character of the Indians 193
Instance of Bribery in Munzerabad 194
Government Cures for 198
Our System of Government a Failure 200
The Registration Act in Mysore 201
Evils of there being no Channel of Communication between the Government and the People 202

PAGE
Opinions of Indian Officials on our Administration 204
Mysore under Mr. Bowring and under Sir Mark Cubbon 206
The Way to introduce New Enactments 209
Importance of removing Causes of 210
Its Removal necessary to real Civilisation 212
No Use in augmenting Salaries 214
Measures for diminishing the Causes of 216

CHAPTER VI.—CASTE.

Valuable to Rural Populations 222
Its Moral Effects amongst the Peasantry 224
Its Value in lessening Drinking 227
Morality in Munzerabad superior to that of England 228
Widows not prohibited from marrying 229
Value of socially segregating Inferior Races 230
Evils of Caste in the Towns, and amongst Advanced Classes . . . 233
Inquiries as to how far Caste has acted beneficially in opposing our Interpretations of Christianity 236
Worthlessness of Pure Dogmas when adopted by a Degraded People . . 237
Native Christians 238
Evils that the Abandonment of Caste would entail on the Peasantry . . 240
Advantages of getting rid of Caste in the Towns 241
Causes of the Outcry against Caste 242
Its alleged Tendencies—The Way to lessen its Evils 244
Our Version of Christianity wisely rejected 246
Mischievous Action of our Missionaries in India 247
Bishop Heber's Letter on Caste 248
Bishop Wilson's fatal Circular 251
Report of the Madras Commissioners on Caste 252
Wise Action of the German Missionaries 254
How Caste did not Originate 256
No necessary Connection between Caste and Idolatry—Sir Emerson Tennent's Remarks 259
The probable Origin of Caste 260
Caste as regards taking the Sacrament 262
Its Sanitary Advantages 264
No Bar to the Exercise of Hospitalities 267
Practical Value of Caste Feelings 269
Its Levelling Tendencies 271
But partially affects an Individual's Rise in Society 272
Rigidity of Caste Laws much exaggerated 274
Remarkable Violation of Caste Law 275
Another Infringement of Caste 276
Variation of Rules even in the same Caste 278
Mr. Pope's Remarks on the Effects of Caste 279

PAGE
Mr. Raikes's Remarks on the Evil Effects of Caste 280
Caste never an original Cause of Infanticide 282
Summary and Concluding Remarks 283

CHAPTER VII.—RELIGION.

Prevailing Features in European and Asiatic Religions 287
General Features of the Indian Popular Belief 288
Causes of the prevailing Tone 289
The Ancient Vedic Faith 291
Vedic Doctrines 293
Vedic Teachings latent, not lost 294
Brahminism almost destroyed, and Nothing rising in its stead . . . 296
Tukaram, the Maharatta Poet 297
His Doctrinal Belief and Calvinistic Tendencies 299
Specimens of Tukaram's Writings 301
He denounces the Ceremonies practised at Festivals 303
Hindoo Theories of the ultimate Fate of the Soul 304
Tukaram's Opinion in favour of its Separate Existence 305
Tukaram's Farewell 306
Religion for the Hindoos 307
Something needed to replace the present decayed Beliefs 308
Deism the only Road to Christianity 309
Evil Effects of Missionary School Efforts 310
Missionary Schools produce People with no Religion 311
Missionary Reasons for preferring the Schools in Towns 312
Missionaries should abstain from taking to other Callings in India . . 315
Missionary Luxury 316
Rebuking Idolatry 317
Suggestions for effectually prosecuting Missionary Work 318

APPENDIX 321

ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOL. I.

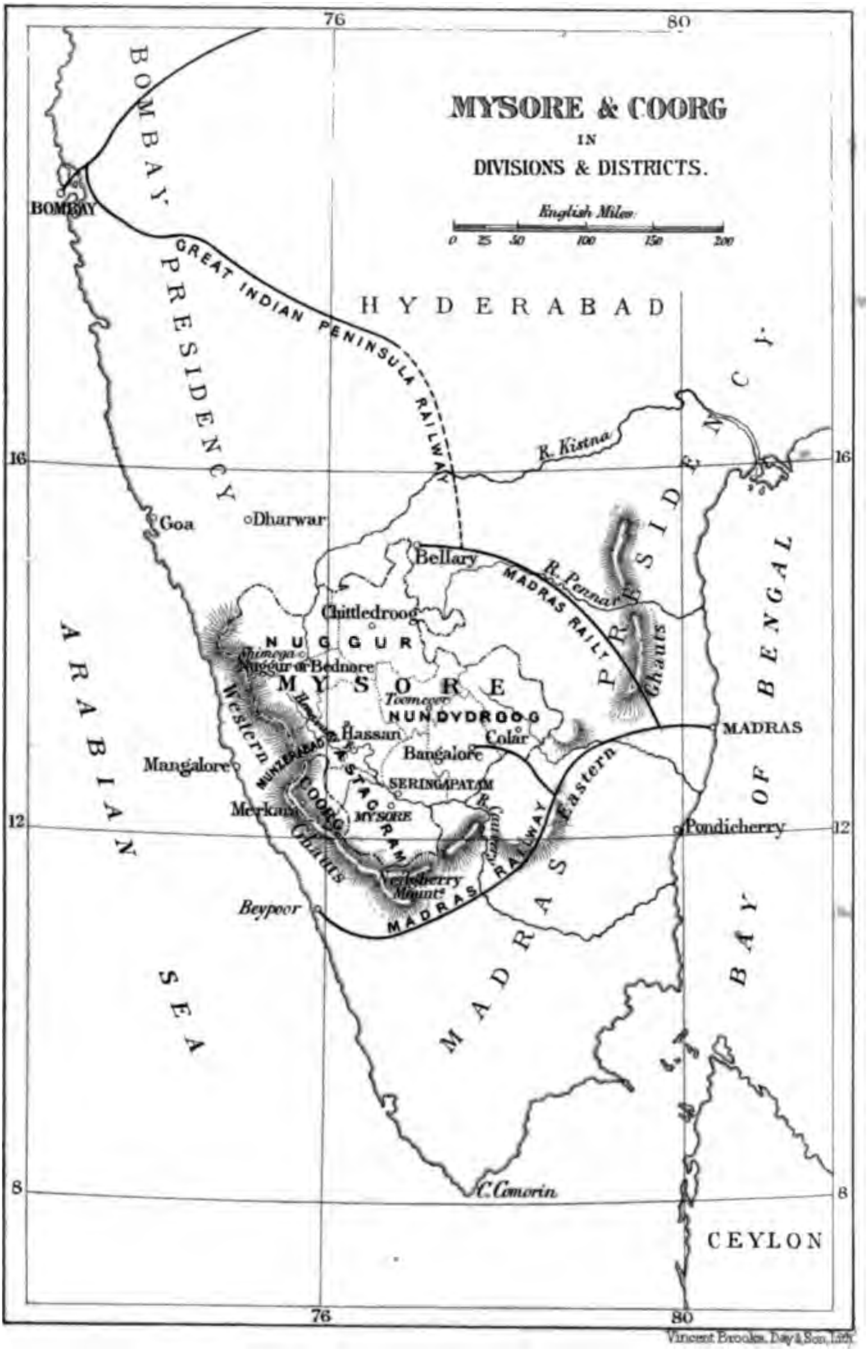
THE Illustration on the Frontispiece requires little remark, as it is simply my bungalow, with the coolies, overseers, and European manager assembled near the house before setting out for their day's work on the plantation.

The Second Illustration, consisting of sixteen figures, is intended to give the reader an idea of the odd variety in appearance between the four principal castes in Munzerabad. The illustration was lithographed from a photograph which was taken on the spot, and, considering the smallness of the scale, the lithographer's work has here been very successful. The four figures on the left are coolies, or the Pariah caste. The Lingayets, or vetegarian farmers, are represented by the four standing figures in the centre; the meat-eating and tody-drinking farmers are seated, and two of them have long matchlocks; and the four figures on the right represent the tody-drawers. Of the vegetarian farmers the figure on the reader's right does not give a correct idea of the original, and the last figure but one of the tody-drawers is made a great deal more like a monkey than need be; but, with these exceptions, the picture is very successful, and a number of the figures are almost perfect likenesses.

The Third Illustration gives a group of tody-drawers, most of whom were my own tenants, who generally accompanied me when I went out shooting. As the reader will observe, some of them are armed with large hacking-knives, which are hitched into an iron catch at the back of the belt. The central figure in the group is a man about six feet in height. The last figure on the reader's right is a good likeness as to face and figure, and so is the last but one on the left; but the remaining figures, though presenting some resemblance to the originals, and faithful enough as to dress and figure, cannot be correctly described as likenesses.

All the Illustrations have been copied from photographs taken on the spot.

To face p. 1 Vol. I



Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.

EXPERIENCES OF A PLANTER.

CHAPTER I.

MYSELF.

IN the year 1855 I sailed for India, with a trifling capital, and with that firm belief in my own capabilities which is common to youth, and which one looks back upon in after life with mingled feelings of wonder and amusement. With my capital and belief I landed at Bombay, and a week later embarked for Mangalore in a salt-laden native craft (Patama), the use of which I hired for the sum of thirty-five florins. We sailed down the palm-fringed coast, with that sublime indifference to time and progress which is the wonder, and not unfrequently the envy, of Europeans. The craft moved lazily onwards, the hubble-bubble passed from mouth to mouth, and the crew whiled away the evening hours with the aid of their monotonous chants. Sometimes we stopped for fishing, sometimes we ran into a little harbour to land some salt and to take in water and cocoa-nuts. At last, and after a nine days' sail, we reached our destination.

The geographical position of the obscure port of Mangalore may be most easily realised, by running an imaginary line from Aden to that point of the western

shores of India which lies midway between Bombay and Cape Comorin. On nearing the coast and looking to the eastward you will see a range of lofty mountains, running parallel to the seaboard, and at a distance of about sixty miles inland. These are, as it were, the mighty buttresses on which rest the table-land of Mysore, which has an average height of 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. This rugged and fantastic chain, now receding into deep bays and again advancing boldly like promontories into the sea, is called the Western Ghauts, and forms the boundary between the plains of the Mysore table-land and the lowlands which stretch from the foot of the hills to the sea. But we have to get from Mangalore to Munzerabad. Leaving, then, the Arabian Sea behind us, and turning our faces to the east, let us take the road which enters the Mysore province by the pass of Munzerabad. Up to the foot of the mountains we have to scale, Nature has thrown few obstacles in the way, and the road winds pleasantly along the banks of a river which rises in the frontier land of Mysore. But as we near those dark defiles, which are black with jungle and swarming with elephants and bison, farther progress seems impossible. The ingenuity of our engineers, however,—and easily, it appears to us,—has overcome all the difficulties of the route. The road winds, and twists, and turns, now backwards, now forwards, sometimes steep, at other times easy, but always tending upwards. We toil up an ascent of about 3,500 feet, and at last to east, north, and south we see the land old Hyder ruled over, and which he often predicted his half-mad son would assuredly lose. The western frontier shows little of the signs of warfare; but towards the termination

of the pass, the star Fort of Munzerabad and the grave of the only English officer killed at an engagement that took place in the vicinity, remind us of the struggle which terminated with the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo. And some miles to the south-east the jungle of Arekerry is pointed out as the spot where Arthur Wellesley quelled the last shadow of resistance to British sway.

The talook, or county, of Munzerabad, which forms part of the western frontier of the Mysore state, runs north and south about fifty miles, and has an average breadth of about twenty. It is bounded on the south by Coorg, on the north by the Nuggur division of Mysore, on the west by Canara, and on the east by the adjacent counties of the province. The general features of the landscape may be easily described; but what shall I say of that transcendent scenery which has often gladdened my heart, and lightened a solitude that would otherwise have been unendurable? What of those wild, fantastic hills, and those pleasant, park-like glades? What of those sparkling streams which, tumbling in crystal cascades from inaccessible clefts and heights, rush down the jungle-clad ravines to join the rivers which speed towards the western sea? What of those gorgeous sunsets, and that splendid cloud scenery which, when the monsoon bursts along the western frontier, presents such a bewildering and fleeting series of combinations that the eye can hardly catch them, and the memory fails to retain anything but a vague impression, of all that can be conceived of the sublime and beautiful? What of the tropical verdure and the varied flora? What of those combinations of scenery, which are probably unmatched in any quarter of the globe? It would be

impossible, indeed, to exaggerate them; but there are times when half is better than the whole. To him who has an imagination the following sketch will suffice. To him who has none no amount of word-painting would answer my purpose.

After toiling up the Munzerabad ghaut we gained an elevation of about 3,500 feet above sea-level. Let us toil up some 1,500 more, and take a bird's-eye of the country from one of those lofty summits which overhang the passes farther north. We choose the earliest dawn, partly to avoid the tropical sun, partly for the chance of a shot at a bear or bison, and climb through the region of the morning mists into the purer atmosphere of the highest peaks. At last the topmost height is gained, and we look down on the misty sea which shrouds the land below. But the milky vapour soon yields to the rays of the fierce tropical sun, till peak after peak of the lesser hills appear like islets in the ocean; and presently the rising breeze and the fast-mounting sun dissolve and dissipate those "aërial draperies" which hide the landscape from the view. And now we have a bright blue sky, and that transparent atmosphere which is seldom to be met with except at high elevations in the tropics. Turning our backs to the Arabian Sea, and looking to the east, the eye rests for one moment on the buildings of a farm at the mountain foot, and then gazes delighted over a foreground of parky undulating land, interspersed with rice-fields in the hollows, and broken at intervals with miniature mountains; then across a long line of mist which still lingers over Hemavatty, and finally loses itself in the wide-spreading plains of the table-land. Pleasant is the prospect to those who love the signs of civilisation and the haunts of man, but pleasanter far to

the sportsman and the lover of the wild solitudes of the jungle is the westward view. Towards the east man is going forth to his labour, and "the smoke's blue wreaths ascending in the trees" tell of many a jungle-hid hamlet; but to the west that sylvan sea, which, commencing 3,000 feet beneath us, stretches miles away to the bright green rice-fields of a village beyond the frontier, gives forth no sound but the shrill call of the jungle-cock and the discordant cry of the sawyer-bird. To the south the view is bounded by the blue hills of Coorg, and to the north by a chain of mountains, which, leaving the range of ghauts at right angles, runs from west to east, and so projects far into the table-land.

Having thus introduced the reader to the country, and attempted to describe the general features of the landscape, I shall now relate what took me to Munzerabad, and what I did there.

When I ascended the pass of Munzerabad, in the year 1855, the only signs of European civilisation consisted of the road I traversed, the travellers' bungalows, and the residence of a single planter which occupied a commanding situation at the head of the ghaut. An accident had furnished me with an introduction to the occupant of that lonely house, and with information of what is hungered after by younger sons, namely, a spot where a trifling capital can, with industry and enterprise, be turned into a comfortable livelihood. At that time the pay of a labourer was only four shillings and sixpence a month, forest land was to be had for the asking, on the condition that it should be planted with coffee, and as the tax was levied on the produce at the rate of two shillings a hundredweight, the Government made consequently no call on a settler's

resources until his estate came into bearing, or, in other words, till he was reaping the rewards of his labour. The advantages of the situation were evident, and I immediately applied to the Government for a grant, which, however, I was unable to procure till the short clearing season was over. But my time was usefully employed in picking up Canarese, and acquiring what information I could on my friend's estate, though from the fact of it being an old one the experience gained was of little value; for it seems almost superfluous to add, that carrying on an old plantation and opening a new one involve very different operations. What was more to the purpose was, that of two new-comers, who procured land and commenced operations at the same time as myself, one was a Ceylon planter of experience, and his example and practice as to plantation management were consequently of the greatest value.

The lands suitable for coffee may be divided into two classes: firstly, village forests; and, secondly, what may be called the ghaut forests, which clothe the slopes of the frontier hills. The first are limited in extent, but from their being surrounded by villages from which labour can be drawn and food procured, are of course by far the most desirable. The ghaut forests, on the other hand, are generally remote from villages, and everything, therefore, has to be brought from a distance to the estate. Surrounding the village forests are rice and raggee fields, and a weekly market is seldom far distant; while from the ghaut forests not a sign of cultivation is to be seen, and there may not be a bazaar within five or six miles, or even farther. The forest lands in the vicinity of each village were claimed as common by the people of the village, but Government, after some hesi-

tation, finally decided on recognising no right in forest lands whatever unless a grant from the State could be shown, and thus was the question finally settled. The land I had selected was one of the village forests, about twelve miles distant from my friend's estate, and about the same from the grants of the two new-comers, who, as I before mentioned, commenced operations at the same time as myself.

On my start as a planter it is difficult to look back without a smile. My household establishment consisted of one servant—a cook by profession—but who in addition to that duty did all the work that is usually done by several servants in the south of India, and what only a multitude will undertake in the north. His pay was fourteen shillings a month. My plantation establishment consisted of a lad of sixteen, of the farmer caste, who had been taught some English in the school at Hassan (the head-quarters of the district), and who could read and write Canarese, and of a Mussulman, who was by profession a gardener. The pay of the first was ten shillings, and of the second fourteen shillings a month. With this magnificent establishment I took the road to my new home. My tent and cooking utensils preceded me in a cart, and I followed on a Maharatta pony. It was on the 1st of October, 1856, at the close of the rains, and the commencement of the clearing season, that I pitched my tent on a bit of grass land adjoining the forest I had obtained a grant of. A farmer from the adjacent village promptly undertook to procure labour, and I at once engaged him on a salary of ten shillings a month. What he promised I really forget at this moment, but I well recollect his arrival on the following morning with the disheartening number of

six men. To produce any sensible effect with such a number was of course impossible, but I was at that happy age which neither makes difficulties nor counts odds, and at the head of my force I marched into the forest and commenced cutting some preliminary lines through the underwood. In a few days, however, things wore a brighter aspect. Men dropped in gradually, and my force soon rose to about thirty people. But I had not been at work for more than a few weeks when a very unexpected difficulty arose, and in this way:—As I was sitting in my tent during the heat of the day, news was brought me that a number of the villagers were forcibly opposing the clearing of the forest. I reflected for a few minutes and then took the field armed, not with my gun and rifle, but with pen, ink, and paper, which are very effectual weapons when skilfully used. I found on my arrival a scene which threatened to prove exciting. The opposing force thought they had a right to the land I was clearing as it was close to their village, and were determined to resist my people, who, on an exhibition of force, had desisted from clearing until they had my orders to proceed. My opponents, who were merely armed with knives similar to those used in clearing underwood, were in the minority, and I could easily have disposed of them had I wished to do so. But I caused my clerk to explain to them that, if the leader would sign a paper declaring that they forcibly prevented my clearing the jungle, I would draw off my party. They assented, and my clerk drew up a brief statement to that effect, which they were imprudent enough to sign. I then drew off my men to another part of the forest and at once despatched the document to the native magistrate, who,

in the course of a few days, came down with a strong force of police. He investigated the case, adjudged that I was in the right, and ordered some of the forest to be cut in his presence. When it came to the question of punishment I begged for a free pardon. My request was readily complied with. Some of my opponents entered my service shortly afterwards, and one of them rose from the position of labourer, and is now the most valued and trustworthy overseer on my property.

The preceding incident illustrates a singular weakness that I have often observed amongst these people, and which impels them, though a very shrewd-headed race, into temporarily getting rid of a difficulty by the adoption of means which they must know will probably be used against them. They will make admissions when they are in a dilemma, and then trust to thinking of something afterwards which will nullify their previous position.

Having thus got over this little difference with my native neighbours, things went on well enough for a couple of months. But about the commencement of December the rice harvest came on, my force in consequence fell off, and I was again reduced to nearly the same number of men that I had taken the field with originally. I looked forward, however, to their return to work at the conclusion of the harvest. But the harvest wages, which were paid in kind, furnished them with an ample supply of food for the remainder of the fine weather season, which, beyond a little ploughing and other trifling work, is usually taken up with feasts and marriages, and, to our ideas, general idleness, which is naturally encouraged by the hotter months of

February, March, and April. The work of a planter, however, goes on with little respite during any season of the year, and in opening a new plantation these months of idleness to the natives require the greatest activity. For the land cleared in October, November, and December, and part of January, must be prepared for the reception of the young plants, which are transplanted from the nursery to the plantation about the commencement or middle of June. I was now at my wits' end for labour. I turned over stone after stone without the smallest success. At last I hit upon an unexpected vein of labour—a vein which had been worked pretty freely in former times, but the very mention of which must be surprising to modern ears. In my extremity I wrote to the amildar for assistance. He replied that he himself could do nothing, but he gave me a note to a headman whose authority was then supreme in my own and two adjoining parishes. He had recourse to a process known as "bitee," in other words, forced labour, and sent me fifty first-class men, who were to be paid at the rate of four shillings a month. These, added to the people I procured voluntarily, enabled me to get through the season's work, and by the end of July I had planted about eighty acres, besides having built a sun-dried brick thatched house, 30 feet by 20, which I partitioned into two rooms. I got into my house just before the rains set in, and considered myself extremely fortunate. Of internal comfort there was not much to boast of; but the climate during the monsoon months required fires in the evenings, which, though never absolutely cold, were chilly from the incessant rain, and the most cheery thing inside the house was the bright wood fire which lit up the roof and rafters of

my cozy little dwelling. I had, however, some troublesome company, and a substance that few people would have cared to keep near large fires in a thatched house. Rats were my company, and the substance alluded to consisted of half a ton of gunpowder, which was stored in large earthenware pots, the mouths of which were merely covered with cloth or matting. The Government had lately been selling off a lot of old stores, and a friend of mine persuaded me to purchase some of the gunpowder, with the view of selling a portion, and partly to give away in presents to my native neighbours. The powder arrived in bags, and it being necessary on account of the damp to keep it in a dry place, and as there was no room in the kitchen, my own house was the only alternative. Shortly after the arrival of the powder my house on two occasions narrowly escaped a conflagration, and, if I may judge by the effect of the Clerkenwell explosion, the result of living with half a ton of gunpowder might have been rather astonishing.

Now that I had fairly settled down, and that the novelty of the situation had in some measure worn off, I began to experience some of the drawbacks and annoyances of the life I had selected—the greatest, of course, was the isolation from any white face. For weeks together I had often no opportunity of speaking my own language, and so rare was a European visitor, that when one of my three white neighbours found time to pay me a visit, I used to sit up on a hill near my house and watch for his arrival as for a sail at sea.

As I rose early and attended to work all day, the tedium of solitude was not much felt until after dinner. Then, when I was left to the rats within and to the jackals, who seemed to select the neighbourhood of my

house as their special howling-spot, the life seemed far from agreeable. The leaders of solitary lives, too, seldom sleep well, and the reason of this probably is that a certain amount of ideas accumulate during the day, and, unless worked off in conversation, keep the mind busy, and the body sleepless. The force of habit, however—a force which people who have not been placed in various situations in life can never realise, and which completely upsets all one's anticipations as to what one would feel under particular circumstances—this equaliser of all situations except cold, hungry, and earthquaky * ones, soon made things tolerable, and in time I think I rather got to like the rats. The main body of them were field-rats, and at a certain time, generally after I had got into bed and put out the candles, I used to hear them regularly filing into the house. The ceiling of my room consisted of loose planks laid across the beams of the house, and the rats had therefore a convenient race-course. Some of them used to come on to my bed; and there is something not unpleasant in the tickling sensation caused by a rat sniffing about one's head and face, when one is half asleep. After remaining about an hour they would suddenly disappear, to return again the following night. The fact of my becoming, at least, indifferent to the rats, did not, however, prevent me from endeavouring to reduce their numbers, and the coolie I had reserved for water-carrier, feasted gloriously on the bodies of the slain. Digging for field-rats at certain seasons is a favourite pursuit amongst the coolies, who not only eat

* People, I may observe, never get used to and indifferent to earthquakes, as they do to most other dangers, and this, I believe, arises from the effect produced on the system by the condition of the atmosphere.

the rats, but consume the grain they have stored up for future use.

The liability of everything and every animal to be attacked is a constant source of annoyance. White ants eat down your house, panthers carry of your dogs, and tigers your cattle; jackals plunder one's poultry yard by day, and various kinds of jungle-cats scratch or force their way into your henroost at night. If you have a dozen sheep you must have a boy to watch them. If you send your ducks to the water you must have a duck-herd. Even then they may not be quite safe; and loud was the lamentation of my duck-herd one day when he returned home with the marks of a jackal's teeth in his leg, and one of the ducks missing. A jackal attacked the ducks, and as the boy ran forward to defend them another bit him in the leg. The diversion was effectual, and the jackals ran off with their duck. The jackal is the fox of Indian fable, and well does he deserve the title. Nor was the preceding instance the only one I could relate of their singular powers of combination.

The long wet months, extending from the end of May to the middle of September, though cheering as regards the health of the plant, add little to the cheerfulness of the life. Breaks of a week or even ten days occasionally occur, but for many weeks continuously does the rain pour on, sometimes dying away into light showers, but always raining on, day and night. The longest stretch of this sort that I remember was one of eight weeks' duration. The unfailing resources of habit, however, come again to our aid, till at last the drenching rain becomes as much a matter of indifference as the dreary howling of the jackals, and day follows day with that

similarity which must ever be the lot of those who have to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow.

The old Hindoo philosophers taught that the world is merely an ocean of illusion, that nothing is real, and that everything a man sees is as an oyster-shell, which appears to be silver, but is not. And, in sober truth, there seems to be more in the idea than one could, at first sight, possibly imagine; and year by year one is rudely awakened from favourite and soothing reflections as to the nature of things around us. Those flowers, you thought, were of beautiful colours and fragrant smell, in order solely that the eye and sense and mind of man might be pleased and gladdened. At last, however, some scientific observer touches you on the arm and says, "At any rate it is as well to think so." You may not be quite convinced when he tells you that the reason of the flowers being of gay colouring and fragrant smell is merely to attract those insects which carry from plant to plant that fertilising dust which is necessary for the propagation of the plants themselves. Nor yet is conviction quite established when he points to the fact that flowers with no gay colouring can be fertilised perfectly by the wind, while those of brilliant hue cannot. But a number of low doubts arise in the mind, and the illusion you have so long enjoyed, if not quite shivered, is at least broken. Those wondrous nests again, which you long thought were at once made by some inscrutable order from above, seem actually to have attained their present shapes and perfect adaptability through the vulgar agency of experience. And the naturalist points to the fact of gay-coloured birds invariably building nests with covers, while brown birds build them without. The first from the risk of the gay plumage attracting the eye of hawks

and enemies in general; the second because no such protection is necessary. You read of the traveller, who, sick and weary, lies down to rest under the scanty shade of a tree so parched by the fierce tropical sun that its shelter is almost a delusion, and when you read further of his turning restlessly, and finding himself face to face with some grinning skull, the picture of misery seems complete. Here, at last, we think, is something like a reality. But this too is an illusion. The reason why more people do not discover the extent of illusion is, that few have had their opportunities of observation sufficiently extended. The consequence is that they pass through the ocean of illusion without any opportunities of discovering what the nature of their sensations would be under particular circumstances. The study of one's sensations is at once interesting and surprising, but it has its disadvantages, and I am not at all certain that it is not an advantage to add to one's illusions, instead of lessening them. Of one thing we may be certain, and that is that the awakening to realities has a tendency to lessen one's sympathy and one's sense of pity. But is it worth while to indulge in artificial sensations? Is it worth while to believe that people feel what you may imagine they feel, merely in order that you may indulge and practise your sense of pity? A lady, well known in the London world, once told me that a poor woman, on whom she had been lavishing some evidently superfluous pity, said, "My lady, don't you make so much of all this. We don't feel these things half as much as you think, and," she added, "many of us wouldn't change places with you if we could."

To return to our traveller lying face to face with the skull of some man who must evidently have laid down

to die by the roadside. Some years ago, when travelling from Munzerabad to Bangalore, I was seized with low fever, which commenced during one of the longest stages on the route. Somewhat imprudently, I happened to be travelling at mid-day when the season was at the hottest. When I reached one of the halting-places, the bullocks that ought to have been ready were nowhere to be seen, and I accordingly despatched my servant to the nearest village in search of them. The heat was intolerable, and I left my grilling coach and threw myself down under the delusive shelter of a scorched-up tree. Presently I turned, and there, face to face, was a clean dry skull, which, somehow or other, I had overlooked at first. I lay there and thought to myself, Here is the ideal situation, how do I feel? The thing was suggestive, and, as I lay with the skull alone for company for about half an hour, I am sure I had plenty of time for reflection. But, like everything else, the thing was an illusion, which would have done very well for a traveller's book, and produced perhaps a sensation at the fireside. The circumstance, like many other circumstances in this world, seemed wretched, and pitiable, and deserving of sympathy. But it was like our oyster-shell we started with, which seemed to be silver, but was not. And why, it may be asked, should I gossip on after this fashion? Well, the gossip may not have the effect intended, but it is simply to convince those who hope to carve a fortune out of the jungle or the bush, that all the circumstances they can possibly conceive as likely to occur will turn out to be illusions. Their misfortunes will certainly turn out to be illusions, and it is just possible that their successes may turn out to be illusions too. But we must now return to our account of the climate of Munzerabad.

The long wet months of the south-west monsoon, which extends from May to September, add little, as we have seen, to the cheerfulness of the life; but the monsoon rains itself out at last, and by the end of September, and during October, November, December, and January, we have fair cool weather, which is all the more welcome from the contrast it presents to the preceding wet months. On a new plantation the fine weather is again occupied in clearing and preparing more land for coffee; but in the case of an old estate, or at least an estate in bearing, the scene is a far busier one, for the crop ripens in November, and picking is seldom over till the middle of January. In March and April the weather is at its hottest, and these months are commonly ones of great anxiety to the planter, as the blossom-showers are then expected, and on the supply of rain depend the prospects of the season. A few Indian thunder-showers make things quite safe, but a scanty downfall develops insufficiently the young buds, which, if the tree receives a short supply of rain, fail to come into full bloom, and are soon burnt off by the fierce tropical sun, just as our peach blossoms in this country are often destroyed by an untimely frost. But coffee-planting deserves, and shall have, a separate chapter. My object here is to give some account of the life.

From what has hitherto been said, I am afraid the reader will not think the life of an Indian settler a very lively one. But it is a black cloud which has no light lining, and the sports which lend a charm to the life of a planter were enjoyed with a zest which I find it impossible to repeat in civilised countries. I do not say that it is advantageous to cultivate a state of violent contrasts, but when accident has led one into a life that

presents such vivid changes from monotony to excitement, the desire to return to it is extremely strong. Washington Irving's Captain Bonneville seems to have been a quiet, peaceable sort of man, and yet he returned to civilised life with reluctance, and had always a longing eye for the wilderness. The adventurous life that he led was of course very different from ours, but the difference was more one of degree than of kind. His contrasts were the most vivid attainable—monotonous camp life and hazardous adventures. Ours consisted of monotonous plantation life varied with the chase of the tiger, bear, and bison. But I believe that with old hands the force of habit is stronger than the love of those adventures which at first are the great attraction to a wild life. Unconsciously does the human animal strive after uniformity. Some from habit wish to be uniformly excited, others seek after serenity, and others like to have a little of both. But whether one's groove be wild or tame—travelling or stationary—it is not the less a groove which one quits with reluctance and longs to resume. However all this may be, it is certain that our only pastime brought with it an amount of pleasure which seemed to compensate for all the drawbacks I have enumerated. Nor were the pleasures of sport the only advantages to be derived from our hunting expeditions; for not only does success in the field increase one's popularity, but it gives opportunities of obtaining an insight into the manners and disposition of the natives which could not otherwise be attained. And the way in which I went to work brought me into closer contact with them than had I pursued the usual course of going out with hired beaters and shikaries. In my sporting expeditions every one fought for his own hand, the party consisting of

the farmers and some of the todyman caste. Some brought their long matchlocks, others acted as beaters, but none sought any reward but their share of the meat, or of the reward (£3 10*s.*) in the case of a tiger being killed. Whoever shot a deer or a boar was entitled to the hind leg; the remainder was cut into pieces about two inches square, and carefully divided amongst the rest of the party. Generally speaking, I went out alone with the natives, but at rare intervals two or three of the four planters in the district would meet at some favourite hunting-ground in the mountains, and pass the night in a rudely-constructed hut. This enabled us, of course, to catch the game at dusk and at the earliest dawn.

When I went out with but a few of the natives—perhaps only six or eight beaters—we had to make up by skill what was wanting in numbers, and it is really astonishing to see how much can be effected by the judicious efforts of a few determined men. This is more especially the case with tigers, whose movements may be calculated on with the greatest accuracy where they are neither hurried nor worried by the beating of drums and the shouting of beaters, which, where the country is of a mountainous nature, with long strips of jungle along every ravine, is a wholly unnecessary accompaniment. The way I generally went to work was to post myself and one of the natives, to whom I lent one of my guns, in the tracks by which the tiger would naturally go when crossing the country on his own account. My beaters then entered the jungle in silence, but walking carelessly, and gently tapping a tree now and then. The tiger would then imagine that it was merely a party coming for firewood, or some such purpose, and not liking to be

disturbed, would stroll out of the ravine into the next, turning back every now and then to listen, till he gradually came to the fatal bush or rock, when a single bullet not unfrequently terminated his existence. When, however, the shot does not prove immediately fatal, the sport, from being comparatively safe, becomes positively dangerous, for you have to run round to head him at the end of the next ravine, and may perhaps have the pleasure of meeting the animal at a disadvantage to yourself. Breathlessness and excitement are unfavourable to accuracy of aim, and I was once much amused at the result of about half-a-dozen shots which I and my native friends fired at a wounded tiger bounding in the open. In the first instance the tiger had been wounded by me, but the ball being slightly misplaced did not prove immediately fatal, so we had to run and cut him off at the next ravine. We were just in time, but the only person who struck the tiger was myself, and the ball took effect on the foot. He fell dead in the air at the end of a long bound, and from the fact of there only being one body-wound, and from the blood after my first shot, it was certain that the second discharge was a complete failure. Following a wounded tiger on foot into the jungle is also dangerous; but I was always careful of my people, and only lost one man out of thirteen tigers I was in at the death of near my house. These accidents are no doubt pleasantly exciting on paper, but when you carry home a dead man along with your tiger-skin the result is rather a gloomy one. Then there is that rolling apprehensive eye, partly betokening pain, partly the fear of that sudden death we all pray to be delivered from. Not very pleasant to look at, too, are those ghastly wounds which you charitably affirm can

easily be healed, but which you well know must soon prove fatal. It is seldom that a man recovers from severe tiger wounds, but recovery does sometimes happen under very desperate circumstances, and in one instance that fell under my own observation, a young farmer recovered from no less than thirteen wounds inflicted by a wounded tiger. To save his neck and head the Indian thrust his doubled-up arms, elbow foremost, into the tiger's mouth, and the long canine teeth went through and through, causing a most curious complication of wounds, and lacerating the sinews terribly. I had him carefully tended in my own house, but his recovery took a long time. His arms swelled to an enormous size, and to allay the inflammation, cold water had to be dropped on the bandages day and night. For about a year he had not the use of one arm, but now he has the complete use of both. His was the first bad accident we had met with, and I was determined to get the tiger. We commenced on him on a Thursday, when the native was wounded; wounded the tiger again on Friday; took up the tracks again on Saturday, and killed him at about three o'clock. The tiger is not an animal that ever excites one's pity, but the melancholy, bedraggled appearance this animal presented after being hunted and wounded for three days in succession, seemed really deserving of some commiseration.

Tigers seem to me to be of more variable character than any animal I have met with—in some instances cowardly, in others quite disposed to take the initiative; sometimes of vacillating temperament, at others evincing great consistency and determination. The well-fed tigers of the Western Ghauts are on the whole very well disposed. They kill plenty of elk, bison, and boar, and

though they occasionally help themselves from the herds of the natives, I have never known them attack man unprovokedly.* Nor do they approach near to the houses of the villagers to kill cattle, and it is generally when the herds are grazing at a distance that the tigers make their attack. I recollect, however, one exception to this. When I was returning one day from a fruitless tiger shikar, a farmer came running after me to say that a tiger had killed a cow not eighty yards from his house, which was surrounded with forest, the underwood of which had been cleared, and the land planted with coffee. I was a long way in front of my people, and having only a single-barrelled rifle with me, was in some doubt. As, however, the sun was just going down, and the tiger would probably return to the carcass at dusk, I said that I would go and have a look at the tiger, though I had no intention of firing unless I could get him at a disadvantage. I cautiously entered the jungle, and there was the cow lying dead. I approached within about twenty-five yards of the carcass, but could see nothing of the tiger. All of a sudden there was a movement amongst the coffee bushes on my right. I could clearly distinguish something moving, and at once took aim, when the farmer said very quietly, "Don't fire, that's my mother." And, sure enough, there was the old woman picking up firewood, and quite unconscious of what had occurred. We had a hearty laugh. I went home, and the tiger, for some reason best known to himself, never returned for his meal. I could say a good deal more about tigers, but the public has, I

* I happened to make this assertion one day to some natives in Munzerabad, when one of them said, "It may be so, but a tiger once ate an aunt of mine not very far from this." This, however, is the only instance of man-eating, or rather woman-eating, that I ever heard of in Munzerabad.

think, been sufficiently saturated with tiger-talk in the numerous books which have been devoted to the sport. One word, however, in favour of tigers—the only one I ever heard spoken for them—and which shows that even a tiger may be of some use. The superintendent of one of the divisions in Mysore told me that the natives complained to him of so many tigers being killed, as they kept down the wild boars, which, as the reader is probably aware, are extremely destructive.

The bison (*Bos gaurus*) roams over the mountains and through the forests of the Western Ghauts, in herds of from eight to twenty-three, the largest number I ever met with. The bulls attain to a gigantic height, averaging eighteen hands, and in two instances that have fallen within my own observation reaching to twenty-one hands. One of the latter I shot and measured myself. This animal is not considered dangerous as a rule, but the solitary bull is often excessively so. The suddenness and rapidity of their charge, especially if they have the advantage of ground, are such that I would advise most people to get out of their way as fast as possible. Much to my annoyance, a solitary bull some years ago killed a very fine, plucky native overseer of mine; and connected with his death there happened a very curious coincidence. On the night previous my European manager dreamt that he went out shooting with this man, that the man was killed by a bison, and that he found him lying stretched dead in a particular position. The following morning the manager went out stalking, and wounded a solitary bull. He sent the Indian on the trail, and went himself to a spot where the bison was expected again to break cover. My manager waited a long time. He shouted, but no answer was made. He

then took up the trail, with another native he had with him, and they presently came upon the unfortunate man, stone dead, and lying extended in the same position that my manager dreamt he had found him. The wounded bull went off, and the following year, I, in company with a friend, killed the same bull, and it was more from good luck than good management that he failed in making an end of one or both of us. As regards man, there is not a more harmless animal that roams the jungle than the bison. It is seldom that they trespass on the crops of the peasantry, and therefore the thoughtless, heartless way in which the cows are often destroyed is much to be deplored. The shooting of a bull now and then affords sport, and does no harm to the herd; besides, in the case of solitary bulls, getting rid of the only dangerous members of the tribe.

The bear is an animal most of all dreaded by the natives, and affords in many instances excellent and amusing sport. In character the bear closely resembles the wild boar, and, like the latter, though attacking man with greater readiness, is seldom as fatal as the tiger. But accidents occasionally happen, and the recommendations one sometimes gets as to the advantages of a particular pass are frequently suggestive. "Stand here," said a native to me one day; "this must be a good place, for at this very spot a man was killed by a bear last year." The rapidity and smartness of the bear's attack are, considering the clumsy appearance of the animal, very surprising, and if you want to test his speed you need not run after him very far to learn how soon you can be distanced. Our Indian Bruin, like all his tribe, is fond of honey, and, from constantly prowling about the villages in search of it, becomes familiar and often

indifferent as to his proximity to man—plundering the hives, in some instances, close to the door. He takes himself off, though, in the day to some snug cave in the mountains, or to some out-of-the-way jungly ravine. These caves are frequently on bare hill-sides, and as there are few farmers who have not been robbed by Bruin some time or other, they took a natural interest in marking him down and bringing me the news. The boldness of the natives in getting a bear out of a cave is great, and the whole scene very amusing and exciting. Sometimes the cave is not very deep, and with only a single and rather narrow mouth. In that case Bruin can be poked up with a long stick. But the bear knows the danger of charging out, and is naturally averse to leaving home. The native generally commences with a nervous, quiet sort of poke, and the bear merely makes a demonstration —a rush at the stick, and a furious growl at being aroused out of his mid-day slumbers. Then the native commences to abuse the bear and his remotest ancestors, calls in question the purity of Bruin's mother, and thus exciting himself, pokes away in a more pronounced style. At last the growls and rushes become fierce and menacing. The Indian drops the stick and scuttles out of the way, and bruin dashes headlong from the cave, to escape or be killed as the case may be. At one of these caves there occurred, some years ago, that mixture of amusement and excitement so difficult to obtain in large game, or, in fact, in any other kind of shooting.

About five miles from my house is a beehive-shaped cave, projecting from one of the steep hill-sides. From the upper side it is easily approached, but to get at the mouth of the cave you have to step down from, as it were, the roof of the beehive on to a ledge of rock,

below which there is a drop of about ten or twelve feet. From the absence of fresh signs I judged that bruin was not at home; but I thought I would gratify my curiosity by looking into the cave, so I got down on to the ledge with two natives, and rather imprudently left my guns on the roof above. No sooner, however, had one of the Indians penetrated a few feet into the cave, which, at the entrance, was about five feet high, than, with three furious growls, a bear charged headlong, driving the intruder out with such force that he went right over the ledge, and lighting (luckily) on his side, rolled some way down the hill. Bruin then with wonderful readiness knocked down the other man, who had not presence of mind enough to get out of his way, and inflicting a scalp wound of about five inches in length on the back of his head, dropped over the ledge and got off unharmed amidst a shower of bullets. In the confusion that had occurred amongst the people on the ledge, who were as much unprepared for the bear as I was, some one had jostled my principal shikarman—a testy, troublesome old man, though a fine sportsman—and, to the great delight of every one, his shins had in consequence been barked against a sharp piece of rock. The fuss he made, and the amount of chaff he had to sustain in consequence, quite rounded off the affair. We all went home in high good-humour, and the wounded man shows his scar to this day with considerable satisfaction. Some people might have objected to the escape of old Bruin, but I confess that I did not grudge him the victory he had earned so well, and we fully consoled ourselves for our discomfiture with the reflection that we would get the better of him next time.

Poking a bear out of a cave is a severe test of one's

nervous system, and principally, I conceive, because the danger, while audible, is invisible. As far as my experience goes, the nerves are far more easily affected through the ear than the eye, and I do not think I was ever so much startled as I was one day when I put the ramrod of my gun into a cave in which I thought there was little chance of Bruin's being at home. A she-bear, all the fiercer because she had cubs, was, however, at home, and when she rushed at the ramrod with a furious growl the effect was by no means agreeable. Nor has the danger you incur anything to do with the matter. On the contrary, a bear in the open may run right into you, and yet the effect on the nervous system is as nothing compared with an invisible bear rushing with a growl at the end of a stick. In the same way there is nothing disturbing to the nervous system in seeing a tiger walk up within twenty-five yards, even if one is seated on ground of the same level; but there is something very agitating in hearing the footfall of an invisible tiger amongst the dry leaves of the jungle, or in hearing him roar when you can't see him. In fact, this action through the medium of the ear is so much greater than through the eye, that it is not too much to say that a partridge rising close to one's feet is infinitely more startling than the noiseless appearance of a tiger within thirty or forty yards.

And here a few words as to the risks of large game shooting may not be out of place, as it seems to me that they have seldom been rightly estimated. A certain amount of danger is, of course, indispensable, and you may make the sport as dangerous as you please; but the necessary and entirely unavoidable dangers are, it seems to me, very much exaggerated. Then the intentions of

large game in making an attack are very often misunderstood, and animals are often accused of deliberate malice prepense when they are merely desirous of securing their own safety by clearing you out of the way. It may be urged that, as long as you are charged, the principle which actuates the animal will not affect you one way or other. But a little consideration will show that there is a very important difference, and the following instance precisely illustrates my meaning. Some years ago I was beating for a bear near my house, and as the jungle was a large one, I put down my rifle (a single barrel) and stretched myself at full length on the grass, intending to conceal myself behind a tree when the beaters came nearer. I was just thinking, of I am sure I don't know what, when, on looking up, I saw a large bear attentively regarding me from the edge of the jungle, which was distant about twenty yards. The moment I moved he charged. I had just time to seize my rifle, spring to my legs, dodge past him, and make for the jungle from which he had been driven by the beaters. But, as I anticipated, he only followed me a few yards, when he turned and pursued his original line. I then took my shot at him, which, from the surprise I got, missed him. Had this been other than a clearing charge, it is evident that I should have got the worst of it; as it was, the risk I ran was comparatively trifling, for old Bruin merely wished to remove an obstruction, and had no intention of going a yard out of his way to attack any one.

Then, again, a very small amount of caution at once changes a possibly dangerous situation into one involving a small risk, of which kind of situation the following will serve as an illustration. On one occasion, when

out tiger-shooting, I was obliged to conceal myself by sitting beside a small bush, which covered my person on one side, but left it more than half exposed to view when the tiger passed exactly opposite my front, which he did on ground of about the same level as that I was seated on. The bush in question was about one hundred yards from the jungle, and the tiger, which had broken back through the beaters, and therefore apprehended no danger at the point where I intercepted him, came quietly along, and stood for a few seconds within twenty-five or thirty yards exactly opposite to me. When he had passed my line by a few yards, and had therefore the coast clear in front, I fired, and on he bounded, fatally wounded. Now, had there been any danger in this case, it would have been entirely of my own making. Had I fired at the tiger as he came towards me, or perhaps when he was standing opposite, he would have seen and probably charged me; but the tiger's eyes are placed well in front, and having only a forward vision, his bound after my shot placed me far out of his line of sight, and therefore entirely out of danger.

If, then, we take little account of clearing charges, and estimate risks like the last-mentioned at their proper value, we have then only to fall back on the aggravated assaults of wounded animals, and, from all that I have seen or heard, the per-centage of attacks which result in wounds or death is extremely small. But if it is important not to over-estimate risks, it is equally important not to undervalue them, and those who have asserted that going into a jungle on foot after a wounded tiger is not extremely hazardous have much to answer for. If, however, we except that risk, the chances of your meeting with a fatal accident in large game shooting but

seldom occur. The people who really run most risk are the beaters, and they are often accused of cowardice, because they are unwilling to do what few of those who taunt them would think of attempting.

If the preceding observations are well founded, it is plain that anything approaching to headlong bravery is seldom, if ever, required in large game shooting. What is really required is a sort of calculating coolness, which neither exaggerates nor under-estimates the risks that have to be incurred. And this calculating coolness is a faculty that may be cultivated, and very considerably cultivated, too, even with people of nervous and excitable temperament. One of the best methods of cultivating coolness is to try and distract the mind from the matter in hand, so far as to consider the scenes you are an active participator in as if you were merely a spectator. Nor is superior safety the only advantage to be derived from this way of looking at things. The picturesqueness of the situations that frequently occur are often lost to the sportsman from excitement, or from over-estimating the danger, and thus many a pretty picture passes unseen, or rather unappreciated, and entirely fails to leave a pleasurable and lasting impress on the memory. In the majority of instances it is, of course, impossible, unless with persons of extraordinary self-possession, to take a pleasurable view of the situation, in consequence of the rapidly-shifting nature of the scene; but pauses of a few seconds frequently occur, which may be taken advantage of by people of moderate coolness, to take as it were an outside view of the position they occupy with reference to the animal they are attacking, and to the general surroundings. The following is an instance where such a pause occurred,

and the survey I had time to take showed me how much I had lost in former sporting affairs, where I was too much excited to enjoy the beauty of the scenes, or had never thought of attending to them.

When I was returning one evening from an expedition amongst the frontier hills, I unexpectedly came upon a solitary bull bison grazing upon the side of a very steep mountain. He had evidently just left the forest below, and, as there was some cover between me and him, I easily stalked up to within eighty yards or so. At that point, however, my cover terminated; so, quitting its shelter, I walked into a little open glade which separated the jungly ravine I had taken advantage of from the forest out of which the bison had come. The bison was busy grazing, and did not observe me till I was within fifty yards. By that time I had got exactly below him, and was about twenty-five yards from the jungle I knew he would be sure to make for, so that though he would have to decrease the distance between us before he reached the forest, I, being out of his line, ran little risk of being charged. The moment the bull saw me I fired at the usual place, behind the shoulder. He quickly turned, and confronted me, snorting with rage. But he presented no good chance for my second barrel; so I paused, and he paused, and while we both stood thus an accident made me look round towards my gun-bearer, whom I had left at the edge of the cover, and then I at once took in the beauty of the entire picture. The scenery was splendid—the faint rays of the setting sun gave light enough, and yet no glare—there stood the bull, snorting with rage, and apparently doubtful whether to charge or not—there was myself in the middle, and peering from the jungle edge was my

shikari, looking anxiously for the result. He was not kept long in suspense. The bull slightly altered his position. I fired my second barrel, and down he charged into the forest. Although, however, my bullets had taken effect, away went the bison, and we never saw him again. But if I lost the bison, the picture remained stereotyped on my memory, and affords at this moment a more pleasant and vivid reminiscence than scenes far more exciting and considerably more successful.

From what has been said, it seems evident that there is a good deal more to be got out of sport than the mere slaughtering of wild beasts, and while pointing out some of the advantages to be derived from the chase, I might, had I space, say a good deal on the many interesting points that fall under one's notice as regards the habits of various animals. I shall here, however, only notice the curious and interesting instances that I have met with of feral animals not only being readily susceptible of domestication, but of their at last preferring the company of man to the society of their own species.

The first instance I have to notice is that of a stag which belonged to a neighbour of mine. This animal, which had been caught when a fawn, used to accompany the coolies to their work and remain with them all day, but in the evening it went away to the jungle regularly, to return as regularly the following morning. It thus roamed the jungle all night, and remained with man all day. At last it became dangerous, as tame stags often do, and had to be shot.

Another still more extraordinary instance was a pet of my own—what the natives call a flying cat, but in reality a flying squirrel—an animal that sleeps all day and feeds at night, and is in habits somewhat like the

bat tribe, though clearly of the squirrel order. Its wings, if they can be called such, consist merely of a flap of skin stretching from the fore to the hind legs. When at rest this flap is not very noticeable, and the animal presents, when on the ground or on the branch of a tree, the appearance of a very large, grey-furred squirrel. It cannot, of course, rise from the ground, but when travelling from tree to tree, it simply starts like a man on the trapeze—descending from one point, to rise again to about a similar level on the opposite tree. One of these animals was brought to me when it was about half-grown, and soon came to consider my house as its natural home. It soon found out an empty clothes-bag hanging at the back of a door, and in this it slept all day. It came out at dusk, and used often to sit on the back of my chair at dinner, when it got fruit and bread. After dinner away it went to the jungles, and I seldom saw anything of it till about three in the morning, when it used to return to the house and curl itself up at my feet. When I rose in the morning my pet betook itself to the clothes-bag, and there spent the day, to go through the same round the following night. This interesting animal met with the usual fate of defenceless pets, and was killed by a dog as it was making its way to the jungle one night.

Another pet of mine was a hornbill, one of those birds of discordant note, huge beak, and box-like crowned head. This creature was also totally unrestrained, but showed a decided preference for the society of man. One day it joined some of its species which made their appearance in the jungle near my house, but soon got tired or disgusted, and speedily abandoned them. It used to swallow its food like a man taking a pill; and it

was surprising to observe the ease with which balls of rice about the size of two large walnuts were despatched. On one occasion it flew off with my bunch of keys, but was luckily seen by my servant, who gave the alarm. The bird threw back his head the moment he alighted on a convenient branch, and it was only the ring that prevented his bolting the entire bunch. Finding my people close upon him, I had soon the satisfaction of seeing him fly to a jungle some hundreds of yards off, where he seemed to take a peculiar pleasure in dangling my keys from the tops of the highest trees, and it was some time before he let them drop, which I conclude he did merely because he could not swallow them.

Now, none of the pets I have mentioned, it may be observed, were made miserable by restraint; but it is very remarkable that though all of them must have had frequent opportunities of resuming the acquaintance of their species, the force of habit seems to have chained them to the places they had been accustomed to. It is difficult to find any other reason than the force of habit; but it is just possible that the following fact may have something to do with their neglect of their own species. It is well known that a great many animals and birds refuse to, or cannot, propagate their kind when in a state of confinement. Now, these pets of mine could not be said to be confined in any sense, but it is just possible that the altered conditions under which they lived may have acted on their animal desires, and so have rendered them indifferent to the society of their species. And here I feel sorely tempted to gossip on about animals and their habits. But it is time to bring this chapter to a close, so I shall hurry through the remainder of our jungle tenants as fast as possible.

The panther is an excessively troublesome and destructive animal, coming frequently into the cattle-sheds at night and carrying off a cow. It picks off also calves, pigs, dogs, and even fowls. From its tree-climbing propensities it is a most difficult animal to get a shot at. The black panther (one of which was sent from our province to Regent's Park) is extremely rare, and I have only known of two being shot in the district since my arrival in 1855. Though the panther can be most dangerous if he chooses, I consider him the most cowardly animal in the jungle, and the natives of Munzerabad are certainly of the same opinion.

The jungle-dog hunts in packs of about six or seven, but sometimes they hunt in couples. These animals seem to confine their attention entirely to game; and though it is alleged that they sometimes kill cattle, or rather calves, no instance of their having done so has ever come under my observation.

Of deer we have four kinds—the sambur, spotted deer, jungle-sheep (the barking deer), and a very small animal which we call the hog-deer, though I am not sure whether it is of the deer order. The wild boars are numerous, and, the country being an impossible one for the spear, they are invariably shot. Last of the four-footed game comes the elephant, which generally confines itself to the malarious and inaccessible jungles at the foot of the passes. The elephant occasionally visits the higher lands; but though one of a herd has been shot on my land, I have never had the fortune to see one, as they always happened to arrive during my absence from the district.

Of small game we have pea-fowl, jungle-fowl, spur-fowl, duck, teal, snipe, and several varieties of pigeons

and doves, of which the imperial pigeon is the finest, and by no means to be despised for the table. Hares are seldom seen, and partridges only in the most eastern, and therefore the driest, parts of the district.

Such, then, is the sport to be had; and I need hardly say that my natural fondness for it was of the greatest consequence in making me acquainted with my native neighbours as we went to the meet, or when returning from the chase, or while resting in the jungle for an hour or so to make our mid-day meal. In many instances, too, it was convenient to sleep at one or other of the villages which were contiguous to the best shikar grounds.

Sometimes I slept in the verandah of the house, my sleeping-place screened off by a cloth which concealed me from such of the family as occupied the verandah—sometimes in the stack-yard in a little tent—and sometimes in the room that was used for pounding and grinding rice. I whiled away the evening with talking over what had been done during the day, laying our plans for the morrow, and general gossip about the country-side. Sometimes, when we were tired of this, a shikari of mine, who had either a wonderful memory or an active imagination, sang, in a sort of monotonous chant, long stories of rajahs, ranees, and dancing girls, till at last he used fairly to sing his audience to sleep. "When will that tale come to an end?" I used sometimes to ask, and the general answer was—"This tale, Wisdom,* would need three days and three nights to finish it." Thrown thus on the natives for society, and on sport for amusement, I made the most of the situation. I got on with the people, and I have reason to think that they did with me. I attended their marriages, feasts,

* The Indians usually address Europeans as Wisdom or Intelligence (Buddee).

and funerals. I have done what I could for them in attending to the sick and dying. I was constantly a referee in disputes amongst themselves. I have often called them in to arbitrate between me and their own people. I have employed people of almost every class on my plantation, and have tenants who cultivate the rice lands I found it convenient to purchase from the natives, or obtain a grant of from Government. My house towards sunset was the common lounge of farmers from the villages. Some came to play quoits, some to inquire the place of meeting for our next hunting expedition, others merely for half an hour's gossip, to hear the news of the day, the price of rice, the prospects of the crops. Others, again, came to ask for medicine, either for themselves or for sick members of their family. On market-days, too, I had many visitors who used to stop for a chat; and so in the course of time there was hardly a thing in the country I was not acquainted with.

The women of the farmer classes were, when first I settled in the neighbourhood, extremely shy; but, as the people got to know me better, this gradually disappeared, till at last, on the occasion of a marriage in one or other of the adjacent villages, it became a common custom for some of the women and children of the wedding-party to visit my house, and gratify their curiosity by a minute inspection of the interior. They looked at the pictures and photographs, and at the deer and bison heads on the walls; but women are never satisfied if any place is withheld from examination, and they invariably expressed a wish to look into my bedroom. This wish being good-naturedly yielded to, the party departed, well pleased with their visit to the white man's house.

Enough has now been said to show that I have had unusual opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Indians of Munzerabad; and I need hardly say that I have a good deal more to tell about them. But to interweave an account of their institutions, customs, and character with my own personal narrative would, it seems to me, only confuse the reader. I shall, therefore, divide the remainder of what I have got to say regarding them into the following chapters.

CHAPTER II.

MY NATIVE NEIGHBOURS.

In his Report of December 5th, 1804, the acting Resident of Mysore, Colonel M. Wilks, observed that the "territories composing the present dominion of his Highness the Rajah of Mysore had, from the remotest period of tradition, been held by a number of polygars and petty rajahs, whose possessions were incessantly enlarged, diminished, or alienated, by a series of revolutions, which it would perhaps be impossible to trace, and unprofitable to describe;" and, as I entirely agree with him, I shall make no attempt to trace the history of the province of Bullum, to which the county of Munzerabad originally belonged. I shall, therefore, content myself with stating that when Seringapatam fell in 1799, the Polygar of Bullum, Vencatadry Naik, was only in possession of a very limited portion of his ancestral country; and the district over which his authority actually extended was confined to the southern portion of the present talook or county of Munzerabad. When, however, Seringapatam fell, or shortly afterwards, this petty chief not only refused to give in his adhesion to the new Government, but even attempted to extend his authority further to the north. The result of all this was that the new Government could get no revenue from that quarter of

the ancient province of Bullum at all. Indeed, the natives of that part of Mysore seemed always to have objected to the payment of taxes, and we are accordingly informed by Colonel Wilks that, in the days of Hyder and Tippoo, the presence of an army was always necessary to enforce the payment of the revenue. For some time the new Government seems to have had no leisure to attend to that part of its dominions, and the natives no doubt thought that they might as well keep their money till an army of some sort arrived. Some ineffectual military proceedings seem to have been taken against the country not long after the fall of Seringapatam,* but it was not till Colonel Arthur Wellesley took the field in person, early in 1802, that the country was finally subdued. His measures were complete and permanently effectual. He first of all defeated the polygar and his followers at the fortified jungle-village of Arckerry, which lay to the south-east of the Munzerabad fort; and, as the chief had succeeded in making his escape, Colonel Wellesley pitched his camp at Hirimunday, a village in a central part of the northern half of Munzerabad, and determined to occupy the country till the polygar was captured. The unfortunate chief was hunted from jungle to jungle, till he was finally captured near the village of Oogahully. In Montgomery's Report on Munzerabad, which has been printed in the selections from the Mysore records, it is asserted that Colonel Wellesley wished to treat the polygar as a prisoner of war, and that he even caused tents to be pitched for him, but eventually yielded to the wishes of the poorneah (the able minister of the new,

* At least ineffectual as regards revenue, for, on looking over the Revenue Accounts of Mysore, I find opposite the amount received from Bullum in 1801-2 this remark, "The first revenue received from Bullum."

or rather restored Hindoo dynasty), who urged the necessity of an example to curb the rebellious disposition of the people. No evidence is given in support of this, nor can I find any allusion to it in Wellington's despatches. The result is briefly told in Arthur Wellesley's letter to Colonel Close, dated February 13th, 1802:—"We took the rajah on the 9th, and hanged him and six others on the 10th, and matters are brought to such a settlement that I have broken up my detachment, and am on my return to Seringapatam."

In another of his letters, written on the 2nd of the same month, he expresses an opinion as to the natural strength of the country, which any one can easily understand who has seen it, and which was as follows:—"I don't think that I ever saw a country naturally so strong as this, and to the strength of which so many additions have been made by the natives themselves. Every village is a strong fortification, which it would require regular troops to reduce." But Wellesley was not a man to do things by halves, and he accordingly left a force behind him to occupy the country permanently, and issued orders as to the filling up of the village ditches, and to opening up the country with military roads. And in order that the villages might be thoroughly accessible, it was ordered that a wide road should be cleared through the jungle or forest which invariably surrounds them. In the Revenue and Expense Accounts for 1801-2, I observe a charge for two thousand men for ten months for "destroying the jungle in Bullum;" and for some years afterwards a considerable garrison was maintained in Munzerabad. But not even an attempt at disturbance seems to have been made since the time the country was occupied by Colonel Wellesley;

and in Colonel Wilks's Report, quoted at the commencement of this chapter, I find that "no part of Mysore has been more tranquil than Bullum, since the period that the actual authority of the Government was for the first time introduced into that province in 1801-2."

In the previous chapter I attempted to describe the general features of the country, and a few remarks were made on the extraordinary beauties of the scenery. It is hardly necessary to add anything to what has been already said, but I cannot help remarking that even the Iron Duke, who seldom went out of his way to notice any matter not directly connected with his military undertakings, could not help, in one of his despatches, making a passing remark on the beauty of the country. Montgomery, too, whose Report has been previously alluded to, says that "perhaps there is no scenery in India more beautiful than the southern parts of this tract, which, for the most part, resemble the richest park scenery in England." And, to one who had long been absent from his native home, no doubt this would naturally be the most attractive feature in the general scenery; but, as I have previously pointed out, the principal beauty lies in the wonderful contrasts which may be seen at a single glance. Scenery stern, rugged, and precipitous is always to be enjoyed; but when you can contrast it, in almost a single glance, with the softest features of an English park landscape, the effect is heightened to an extraordinary degree. Even amongst the hills themselves the contrasts are very striking, and Nature seems to have furnished in a single group every variety of mountain conceivable. In Europe the Pyrenees are the Pyrenees, and the Cheviots the Cheviots, with one common feature pervading each

range of hills. But from a piece of elevated land not far from the spot where Arthur Wellesley pitched his camp of occupation may be seen a complete amphitheatre of frontier mountains, presenting the greatest variety of character: one an overhanging precipice of rock, from which you may drop a stone thousands of feet into the gorge below; the next all grass, and softly rounded at the summit, with cattle grazing on the slopes; a third rising abruptly into a pointed peak, with feathery strips of jungle clothing the lower ravines, and extending far up the mountain-side; while to the north of the group stretches a barren, serrated, rocky range, which in turn is broken by hills of a milder type. But the reader has by this time, no doubt, heard enough of the scenery of Munzerabad, and we will now proceed to give some account of its present inhabitants, and their ways and methods of life.

The people amongst whom I lived may be divided roughly into three classes: firstly, the farmers of the country, who form, I should say, about one-half of the population; secondly, the tody-drawers, or people who extract and sell the juice of the *Caryota urens* palm; thirdly, the helot, or labouring class, who form, I should say, about a quarter of the population. The tody-drawer forms rather less than a quarter, I should think, and the remainder is made up of potters, carpenters, shopkeepers, and scattered members of various castes.

The farmers of the country are divided as nearly as possible, I should say, into Lingayets, or worshippers of Siva, and people who call themselves Wokkul Muckulloo. The first are teetotalists and vegetarians; the second may drink anything, and eat everything except the cow. I have said that these men are farmers, but I should

rather have said that, though some of the poorer are merely the tenants of the rich, they are, for the most part, landed proprietors, who do their own farming, sometimes without, but generally with, the assistance of the helot class. The people of Munzerabad, and also of the northern division of Mysore (Nuggur, formerly Bednore, till it was conquered by Hyder in 1763), seem always to have been considered landed proprietors in every sense of the word; and in Wilks's Report we read that "in the provinces of Bednore and Bullum the property of the soil is vested in the landholder; and the hereditary right of succession to that property is held in as great respect as in any part of Europe." The land-tax seems always to have been paid in money, and the various Governments that claimed supreme authority had nothing to do but collect the tax when they could get it, which, as has been shown, seems often to have been a matter of some difficulty. But whatever may be the theory existing on the subject, I fail to see that the people of these parts enjoy any particular advantages beyond those of other cultivators in the Mysore province. They have certainly the right of selling their lands, but this is done in a way which I conceive might be done in any other part of India. A private understanding is come to between the purchaser and the seller, and, after terms have been agreed on, the holder sends in his resignation, and at the same time an application for the land is made by the purchaser, who receives a fresh grant from the Government. In this way I have on several occasions purchased rice-fields from people who, from various circumstances, wished to resign them.

It is difficult to imagine any set of people to be in what may be called more comfortable worldly circum-

stances than the farmers of Munzerabad. When I first went amongst them, some of the poorer, it is true, could hardly find money to pay their annual tax with, and often came to me for a temporary loan, to be paid off after harvest; but after the rise in the price of grain, which took place about the time of the mutinies, it was seldom that I was asked to advance a shilling for any such purpose, and this showed most conclusively that not even the poorest were ultimately living from hand to mouth. I have said the people were in comfortable worldly circumstances; but, in addition to this, they are almost entirely deprived of the anxieties which usually worry farmers in other quarters of the globe. Their cultivation was entirely a wet one, with the exception of the raggee, a small proportion of which is annually grown on land under partial irrigation; and, as the rice-fields are supplied from perennial springs which never fail, your Munzerabad farmer may be said to be independent of the weather. He simply turns on the water, or turns it off, as he likes, and year after year the same crops are grown on the land with hardly any perceptible change. Some years, of course, one hears complaints of the grain being light, or of slightly improved or slightly deteriorated quality, but these variations are so trifling as to be of little practical importance. The rice harvest is generally got in by the middle of December; and after turning up the soil to expose it to the action of the air, the farmer has plenty of time to go to feasts, fairs, and weddings, and to go out shooting; and indeed he has, for the most part, one long holiday from the close of the rice harvest till the beginning of May, when he recommences his field operations. Between the termination of the rice harvest and the

recommencement of active field-work there are, however, many odds and ends of work to be looked after, which occupy at least some part of the year. Most families have at least some coffee to pick and prepare for market, and some grain to sell; and one of the family, or sometimes more, make an annual trip down the ghauts to a place on the river near the western coast, some sixty miles off. Here the rice and coffee are sold, and the farmer, generally reloading his pack-bullocks with salt, toils homeward again.

I may here notice a considerable change in the habits of these farmers which has occurred within my own recollection, and which has been alluded to in another part of this book: I mean the readiness with which they have taken to trading whenever opportunities occurred. We are often apt to accuse the Hindoos of hoarding; but, if I may judge from my own observation, there is probably either a great deal of exaggeration in the common charges made against them, or else a want of any safe means of employing their money. When I first went amongst these people there was little trade, and what there was, was in the hands of the few native merchants to be found at the villages at which a weekly market is held. But the moment the farmers became better off—partly from taking to coffee-planting, partly from the rise in the price of grain—they took to trading, and I have heard the native merchants assert that the farmers had taken the trade of the country into their own hands. The moment the rice harvest is over, the well-to-do farmers who have money enough for the purpose buy up as much coffee or grain as they can, and make an expedition down the pass with all their own surplus stock of rice, and any coffee they may have

grown on their own lands. They then return with whatever will pay best, and sell that to their friends at home. After the season's operations are over, the money is hidden away till the close of the next rice harvest, to be again used in a similar manner. These farmers are first-rate men to deal with, and come to the point at once as to what they will or will not give. It is our custom to sell a portion of the tail-end of the crop on the spot, and the purchasers of my last year's coffee were entirely farmers. This ready change of habit seems to be a very satisfactory answer to those who are constantly deriding the Hindoos as a people bound down by a slavish adherence to hereditary customs.

One of the first things that strikes a stranger on arriving in Munzerabad is, that on taking a bird's-eye view from one of the minor hills in the most populous parts of the country, it is impossible to see even the vestige of a house. You may look all round, and scan every hollow, without being able to see even the smallest signs of human habitations. On the slopes which are free from jungle you will see the cattle grazing; and along the hollows and margins of the numerous streams that intersect the country you will see long strips of bright green rice-fields; but these are all the signs of life generally to be seen. If, however, you descend into the hollows, and work your way along the edges of rice-fields, you will come at last—and leading into the jungle—to a lane worn deep with the tread of cattle and the torrents of the south-west monsoon, and with banks on either hand from ten to twenty feet high. On ascending this lane, sometimes for a short and sometimes for a long distance, you wind your way upward through the forest, till at last you see in front of you the thatched buildings

and outhouses of a native farm. For some little distance round the house the ground is generally clear of underwood, and planted with jack and plantain trees, amongst which some coffee bushes, all wild and straggling, are commonly to be seen. Sometimes the cattle-shed is in a separate building; but the house of a well-to-do farmer generally is on one side of a square, the other sides of which are composed of cattle-sheds; and entrance to the courtyard is made through the sheds opposite the frontage of the dwelling. The house is invariably thatched, and varies in size, of course, with the means of the owner. In the ordinary houses there is little or no attempt at ornament; but the open verandah of the houses of the richer classes is generally supported with handsomely-carved pillars of wood. This verandah, which, whether the house is built on the fourth side of a square or not, is invariably closed at the sides, and open only at the front, is the place where visitors are always received, and where the unmarried members of the family generally sleep. In the interior of the house are the sleeping apartments, and towards the back the place where food is cooked. In wet weather a small fire is always kept burning on the floor of the front verandah. The farm-houses are nominally in villages, but in Munzerabad no two houses are to be found together, as each dwelling is surrounded by its own reserve of jungle land, which is the property of the family. The houses are situated with reference to the cultivation, and, as this is in long, narrow, straggling patches, their houses are necessarily far apart; and in some parts of the country half a mile occasionally intervenes between one house and another. The tody-drawers also have their houses entirely isolated, and the only villages, in our sense of the word, are the coolie hamlets.

I have often slept at these native farms when I wished to shoot in a part of the country at some distance from my house. Sometimes I slept in a tiny tent in the stackyard, with my mattress on a heap of straw; sometimes in the room devoted to pounding and winnowing the rice and other grain; sometimes at the end of the verandah, with a cloth hung up as a screen. It was impossible to help envying the simple habits of these mountaineers, and their independence of all the paraphernalia we are obliged to carry about with us. At one house where I often slept, the only signs of luxury were the preparations made for the grandfather of the family. For this old patriarch a plank used to be produced, on which the thinnest of mattresses was placed. For his head a hollow block of wood was provided. These were all put down close to the verandah fire. The old man then commenced to undress, or, in other words, undid the belt and cloth which girded his blanket round his loins. This was superintended by his youngest and favourite son, a lad of about fifteen, who then dutifully hand-rubbed his father most carefully. This sort of shampooing process being accomplished, the old man stretched himself out, turned his back to the fire, covered himself with his blanket, and was soon fast asleep. As for the rest of the family who slept in the verandah, and the people I had brought with me to act as shikaries, they were at liberty to take six feet of verandah wherever they liked; and, unbuckling their belts and covering themselves with their blankets, the whole party were soon asleep.

These farmers have often large families, and commonly by a single wife. The old man above-mentioned had, I think, nine or ten children from one wife.

A second wife is only taken, or nearly always so, when the first proves, after some years' trial, to be unfruitful. The natives do not care to have more than one wife; and I have often been told that the quarrels arising when there are more than one are a sufficient reason for this. When the family remains united, the number of people living under one roof is often very great; and one old patriarch in Munzerabad had some years ago no less than about eighty in family. This old gentleman had no less than twenty-three children, and from only two wives.

The dress of the people is extremely simple, and consists, like the very ancient Highland dress, of a single blanket, invariably black, so disposed as to present the appearance of a kilt at the knee, and girded round the waist by a belt, with an iron catch at the back, into which is hitched the large hacking-knife. The upper part of the blanket is so disposed as to cover the left shoulder and the chest, leaving the right shoulder free. In some parts of the country the kilt has a fringe, which hangs rather below the knee, but in our parts this is seldom worn. From living in a hill country the men have naturally deep chests, and calves to their legs which would do credit to a Highlander. The women are dressed also in a single piece of cloth, which is wound round them in such a way as to cover the person entirely down to the calf of the leg. It will be observed here that the practice of men and women is exactly the reverse of ours. The men of Munzerabad wear low and the women high dresses, while here the ladies at least endeavour to dress as low as they decently can, and the men are all covered. In Chambers's "Domestic Annals of Scotland" (vol. iii. p. 270) the figures of the

ancient Highland men and women are dressed very similarly to the people of Munzerabad.

I have had six of the meat-eating caste weighed and measured. In weight they varied from 8 st. 6 lbs. to 10 st. 6 lbs., and in height from 5 ft. 3 in. to 5 ft. 9 in. In the opinion of my manager, one of the number weighing 9 st. 8 lbs., and measuring 5 ft. 7 in., is about an average specimen. I knew the individual in question, a man who has been often out shooting with me, and agree with my manager in thinking him a fair average man of his race. Of this caste men as tall as six feet, or nearly so, may occasionally be met with.

The vegetarian farmers (Lingayets) neither weighed nor measured quite so much, and the result accords with my observation, as they are generally of slighter build, and, perhaps from seldom taking an interest in field-sports, of more sedentary habits. In height those measured varied from 5 ft. 3 in. to 5 ft. 7½ in., and their weight varied from 7 st. 12 lbs. to 10 st.

I have had no opportunity of weighing or measuring any of the women; but they seemed to bear the same proportion to the men, as to weight and height, which is common in most countries.

The men vary a good deal in feature, but as a rule their features may be said to be regular, with straight noses and thin lips; and many of the men are, according to our notions, very handsome. Their manner is at first somewhat reserved, and, as was observed in Montgomery's Report, they well know how to pay respect to those above them, as well as to exact it from those beneath them. There is one respect in which they differ very much from the natives of the open country of Mysore, and that is in their habit of never becoming

familiar. With natives of the plain you cannot be familiar without their becoming disagreeably so with you, or, in other words, without their losing a proper respect. With the Munzerabad farmers, on the other hand, you may be as familiar and friendly as you please out shooting, without the slightest risk of losing their respect for you, and I have often had occasion to admire their tact in this respect. In complexion the men vary a good deal, and generally in accordance with the amount of exposure to the weather—the richer being fairer, and the poorer somewhat darker, as a rule. Their complexion is a light brown, and from that to darker shades, but rarely approaching to black. Instances occasionally happen of men with bluish-grey eyes, and moustaches of a reddish tinge, but these are very rare. The women are, many of them, very good-looking, and fairer, of course, still than the men, being but rarely exposed to the weather. It is seldom that Europeans see them to advantage, as they are very shy, and therefore appear to us to be a great deal heavier and less intelligent than they really are. They generally look happy and contented enough; and, as widows left in charge of a family, are treated with great respect, as has been observed in another chapter of this work.*

Neither of these castes of farmers—the vegetarian Lingayets, or the meat-eating Goudas, or Wokkul Muckulloo—admits of any superiority on the part of each other, and the head men, or potails, are sometimes of one caste and sometimes of the other. The senior potail in the talook, or county, however, is of the Lingayet caste. Neither of these castes will, of course, intermarry, nor will the vegetarian Lingayet eat of food prepared by the

* See remark in Chapter III., p. 120.

meat-eating farmer, though the latter will eat of food prepared by a Lingayet. This fact seems to show a practical admission of superiority on the part of the meat-eaters (at least as regards habits), though, as I have said before, they are unwilling to admit of any inferiority.

The next division of the people calling for notice is that of the tody-drawers. These are divided into two castes—the Daver Muckulloo and Bhilaroo. Both of these will partake of food in the houses of the farmer caste, but not in each other's. Curiously enough, the first-named people, notwithstanding their pursuit, will not partake of alcohol in any form. In habits, as regards food and drink, the Bhilaroo people are exactly the same as the meat-eating farmers.* The manner of extracting the juice of the sago-palm is extremely simple; and without entering into details, which would only be tedious to the general reader, I may observe that, on passing through the jungle, you will see a black pot hanging to the end of a branch or shoot which has been cut off. Into this pot the juice runs, and a single tree will in this way give from two to as much as four or five quarts a day. Early in the morning this juice is of about the thickness of muddy beer, with a pleasant sweet taste. As, however, the day goes on, fermentation sets in, and by two or three o'clock in the afternoon the liquid becomes frothy and intoxicating. Most of the farmers have some of these trees in the piece of jungle land which is allotted to every house to be used as garden land, and the tody-drawers cut the trees, giving

* The meat-eating farmer will not partake of food in the house of a todyman, but when travelling the meat-eating farmer may partake of food prepared by the Bhilaroo caste of todymen.

rather sprays, of the palm interwoven. Their dress is the same as that of the upper classes, though generally of a scantier and always of a poorer description. When I first settled in Munzerabad the whole of this helot caste were still in the position of hereditary bondsmen in which Montgomery found them in 1839. They were fed, clothed, and married at the expense of their master's family; they were feasted and received presents at his festivals; and mourned as members of the family when deaths occurred in it. They seem in former times to have been liable to be sold, but, with rare exceptions, they seem only to have been sold along with their master's estate. According to Montgomery, these hereditary bondsmen (who appeared healthy and well fed it, may be mentioned) expressed no wish to change their condition, when asked if they ever repined at their lot in life. This may seem to the reader to be a curious fact, but it proves what Montgomery asserts to be the case, namely, that these bondsmen were quite as well off as free labourers, the latter in former times being paid in food and clothing of nearly the same sort. My own experience amply confirms this statement as to their condition of life; but, considering the great rise in the price of wages, and the knowledge that the freedom of the individual is entirely unrestrained, it is certainly surprising that so few of these hereditary bondsmen should leave their old masters. Some, of course, took advantage of the arrival of European planters to desert bad masters, but many of my native neighbours never lost a man.

It is a common practice with the missionaries to represent the Pariahs as outcasts; and I may remind the reader that Mr. Arthur, in his "Mission to the Mysòre,"

Vincent Brooks, Day & Son Lith.

WHOLLIYERS OF HELOT CASTE

VEGETARIAN FARMERS.
MEAT EATING FARMERS.

TODY DRAWERS.

adjures the British public to think of "the eight millions of wild men who haunt the woods and hills, and of the twenty millions of outcasts whose lot is vile and bitter." Assuming that the Pariahs are included in the last (and it would be impossible to make up any such number without them), the statement is entirely calculated to mislead people in this country. Your Pariah has his caste just as much as any one else has his, and in Mysore there are two castes at least of whose food the Pariah will not eat. These are the Cootumbroos, or fortune-tellers, and a caste called Vashtmy, a low caste of priests.

We have now taken some account of the great sections of society in Munzerabad—the farmers, the tody-drawers, and the labourer or helot caste, or, to call them by their common name, the coolies. The remainder of the population consists of potters, carpenters, silversmiths, weavers, washermen, barbers, and the small number of Brahmin priests required to officiate at the only temple of note, and to solemnise the marriages of the middle and upper classes.

As to race, the whole society may be divided into Turanians* more or less pure, and those of distinctly non-Turanian or aboriginal extraction. The last are represented by the coolies of the country, the former by the castes I have already specified. The distinctions

* The ethnology of India, or at least of Southern India, seems to be far from conclusively settled, and the word Turanian used here is merely to distinguish these people from the pure Aryans of the north, and the aboriginal tribes represented by the Pariahs of Southern India. The term Turanian, though sufficient to answer my purpose here, is, I am aware, far from a satisfactory one. According to Mr. James Ferguson the term is of Persian origin. "In their simple system of ethnography," he states, "the inhabitants of Central Asia divide all the world between two races—Iran and Turan; or Iranam, or as we call it, Aryan, meaning themselves, and Turanian, meaning everybody else; or, as they otherwise express it, Iran and an-Iran, Aryan and non-Aryan."—*Journal Ethno. Society of London*, July, 1869, p. 141.

between the people of Turanian descent, and the aborigines who were reduced to serfdom, are exactly similar to those described in Hunter's "Annals of Rural Bengal" as existing amongst the inhabitants of that province. The Turanians are, comparatively speaking, fair, with thin lips, well-proportioned features, and intelligent faces. The aborigines, on the other hand, are black, squat, and thick-lipped, with ugly countenances, and a generally stupid expression. And the institutions and religion of the respective races differ in like manner. The Turanians have their village system; Brahmin priests, without whom no marriage can be solemnised, and through whom are offered up things pleasing to the benign deities and the universal God; and have at least the tradition of a future state. The aborigines may be said to have no religion at all, unless the offerings occasionally made to evil-working spirits can be called such. But in Munzerabad the Turanians, repeating the actions of the Aryan Indians of the north, have drunk deeply of the aboriginal rite, and the same man who goes forth to offer to the benign deities

"Sweet-smelling gums and fruits and flowers,"

will at midnight betake himself to the gloomiest recesses of the forest, and there, at the foot of some chosen tree, pay bloody homage to the demons through whom alone, in his opinion, come sickness and misfortunes. In their state of civilisation, at least, people are more easily sent to their knees by their fears than their desires; and, so long as they imagine that calamities are caused by evil-working spirits, so long will they cling tenaciously to the rites of superstition, and neglect the comparatively speaking purer worship of

which they may now be said to hold merely the tradition.

I have said that the Turanians have at least the tradition of a future state, and their belief is that there are altogether seven worlds; that we occupy the central one; that there are three above and better than this world, and three below very much worse. The good, they think, will go to the worlds above, while the bad will descend to the inferior worlds, where they will be punished for their sins. Such, at least, is their oral tradition. But their anticipations of what will happen in a future state extend no further. Nor, as far as I can discover, do they trouble themselves so far as to think at all on the subject; and, if you speak to them of a future state where the good will probably* be happy together, they answer, "It may be so, but who has returned from thence?"

These people have also the tradition of the deluge, but with a slight variation. They imagine that the whole world was destroyed by a sea of fire, and that two people alone were saved by taking refuge in a cave.

In Munzerabad there are devils and demons without end, and the firm belief evinced in them by the Indians, together with the innumerable ways in which the wrath of a devil may be excited, has often caused me no little trouble. If fever, for instance, breaks out in the village, some devil is sure to have caused it, and nothing will satisfy him but a sacrifice of blood. A good many years ago, and in one of my estate villages, I drove out a devil at the cost of seven shillings, and for this sum several cocks were sacrificed, and other ceremonies gone through. The site of the village in question is

* I say probably, for "it doth not yet appear what we shall be." (1 John iii.)

a particularly healthy one, and this sacrifice lasted, accordingly, for a number of years; but another devil, or the same one, is said to have broken out, and the people are, I am informed, deserting the spot. I must say that I had some doubts as to the propriety of yielding to the fancies of the people, but in times of sickness almost anything that allays fear or affords hope should be encouraged; and I may here mention that a civilian once informed me that, when cholera broke out in a gaol under his charge, he sacrificed a pig and two sheep with excellent effect.

The laying on of devils, too, has often troubled me not a little, and complaints of this kind are frequent. One man will allege that another man has bewitched him, and that all sorts of misfortunes have happened to him in consequence. The remedy in this case is to get the bewitcher and bewitchee to eat together. This recipe may, perhaps, be of use in this country, and I recommend it accordingly to the notice of Devonshire and Somersetshire clergymen, as in these counties in especial, cases of belief in witchcraft are far from uncommon; in fact, one came before the magistrates not long ago, a man having bitten a woman who he thought had bewitched him.

Another class of special devils caused a neighbour of mine (an English planter) a good deal of annoyance, though I luckily escaped, my house lying somewhat out of the route by which they were got out of the country. When cholera or severe small-pox breaks out in a particular parish, the inhabitants gather themselves together, and by some process, the exact nature of which I never learned, cast into a wooden image the spirit which causes the disease. The image is then carried, generally at

midnight, into the next parish, the natives of which despatch it with all speed out of their boundaries. The route of epidemical devils with us is from the western to the eastern portion of the country, which is bounded by a large river, into which the image is thrown, and thus is disease carried out of the district. My neighbour's estate is contiguous to the river, and in the direct route of devils, which invariably arrived at some unseasonable hour of the night. If the devil was in any way delayed, it was imagined that infection would spread, or the disease break out; and the people had therefore, night after night, to get up and carry the images down to the river.

Malicious demons are also supposed to haunt particular pools of rivers or streams, and I well recollect how I was once entreated to desist from bathing in a deep rocky pool some miles from my house. I was surprised at the firmness of their belief, and one of the party even suggested that they should all go home, in case my death should be laid to their door. But the day was hot and the pool tempting, and I plunged into the (to them) dread and gloomy waters. I had a pleasant swim, but I failed in persuading the boldest of the party, a man of known and tried courage, to follow my example.

Singularly enough, these devils do not seem to be thought capable of being disturbed or in any way offended by the intromissions of a foreigner; and on my estate there exists a singular instance of what an Englishman may do who gets on with neighbours, and of the tenacity with which the Indians cling to a particular worshipping place. In a block of forest I had cleared for coffee it was found expedient to drive a road

between two of the sacrificial trees, and, in fact, right over the place where the sacrifices were made. I explained to the villagers principally interested, that it would be extremely inconvenient to me to make my road anywhere else; that the road could be no loss to the devil; that it would be a convenient place for them to sacrifice on; and that the advantages hitherto enjoyed by the devil would be increased rather than diminished. To these propositions they good-humouredly assented, and the place, if I may judge from the fresh blood-stains often to be seen early in the morning, seems to be more popular than ever. My carts and people pass along by day, the devil is worshipped at night, and all parties seem equally pleased.

Notwithstanding this universal belief in and dread of evil spirits, the natives do not seem to attach any importance to a place of sacrifice that has been long deserted. The only sign that denotes a demon-worshipping spot consists of three small stones, generally of white quartz; and, when cutting a road through forest remote from villages, we once came upon these marks of worship. I was in a doubt as to removing them, but one of the Indians said it was only a ruined devil, and solved the difficulty by shovelling the stones aside without the slightest ceremony.

I have said that in Munzerabad there are devils and demons without end, and being desirous of ascertaining their number, I requested one of my managers to send me a list of all the devils in the country. To this he added, by my request, a list of gods and goddesses, so that I have now a complete account of all the deities and devils worshipped by the natives of Munzerabad. Were I engaged in writing the statistics of the gods

and devils of India, I should certainly have an excellent stock in trade to start with; but, as my object is merely to give the reader an idea of the general life of my native neighbours, I shall glance but very briefly at the information before me.

The devils of Munzerabad may be divided roughly into two classes, the first of which contains eighteen, and the second nine devils. These eighteen devils come under the general head of Bhûta, Diah, Chowree, and Juttigâ; and besides these devils and their variations, these being apparently different principles of the same fiend, there are two others specially devoted to the tody-drawers, mamed Cardelworriah and Mullay Moodiah: the first of the last-named injures the tody-trees, while the second revenges itself on any one who annoys a tody-drawer. The first four devils on my list injure* the body, and produce a variety of symptoms which are not traceable to any particular disease, and the offerings consist of tody, sheep, fowls, rice paste, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, slightly varied, however, according to the taste or power of each particular devil. One devil, for instance, puts up with only from five to nine rice cakes, two fowls, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and tody, while others, again, require mutton. Devil No. 5 appears in a dream in the shape of a tiger, generally to children, and seems to be quite satisfied with the modest allowance of one fowl and three measures of boiled rice. Devil No. 6 spoils milk, curds, and cream, and sometimes takes to

* "In New Zealand each disease was regarded as being caused by a particular god; thus Tonga was the god who caused headache and sickness: he took up his abode in the forehead. Moko-Tiki, a lizard god, was the source of all pains in the breast; Tu-tangata-Kino was the god of the stomach; Titi-hai occasioned pains in the ankles and feet; Rongomai and Tuparitapu were the gods of consumption; Koro-Kio presided over childbirth."—"Origin of Civilization and Primitive Condition of Man," by Sir John Lubbock, Bt., p. 131.

men and cattle. Devil No. 7 affects the whole family, as well as the cattle and poultry, all of which it kills unless found out. The way in which it is found out is in this manner:—Certain plates of brass, which are solely used for this purpose, are placed on the floor in the centre of the house. After a few ceremonies, the potter (the village potter seems generally to preside at these devil ceremonies) places two thin rods against the plates, and pushes them along. Wherever the plate stops, it is supposed that the devil is there. The spot is then cleaned, and offerings of a pig or two red cocks with boiled rice are made. These plates for finding out the residence of the devil are only to be procured at two villages in our neighbourhood. Devil No. 9 kills in an instant, and is very difficult to discover. The other devils up to No. 17 call for no particular remark. No. 18 affects children, causing them to be restless and continually crying. In this case a fowl with boiled rice is offered on a stool in the house. If, after the offering, the child does not become better, a thin silver plate with figures which make fifteen taken any way

8	3	4
1	5	9
6	7	2

is hung round the child's neck, the number fifteen being, it is believed, the favourite figure of this devil.*

* In another part of this book I have said that with us the devil has quite gone out of fashion, but I have since seen reason to think that I am probably, at least to a certain extent, mistaken. Monsignor Gaume, at any rate, and the Pope seem to have a belief in devils and demons that rivals the belief of my

The devils previously alluded to seem to be responsible to no particular head devil, as far as I can learn; but the next class, numbering in all nine devils, are all under a female chief, who is supposed to send the inferior devils on their deadly errands. The chief is called Hidir-Bidra-Umma, and the whole of this tribe of devils come under the general name of Mâra. The chief devil is held in particular dread by the natives, and is supposed to have existed from the beginning. The whole of these devils seem to be thought to be simply a set of malevolent fiends whose wrath had to be incessantly appeased by sacrifices, and the only one worthy of any particular notice is the Rutcha Cuttin Mâra, to which a sacrifice is annually made at a particular village in Munzerabad in order to avert cattle disease. The ceremony is as follows:—A three or four-year-old buffalo is brought before the temple of the Mâra, after which its hoofs are washed, and unboiled rice thrown over its head, the whole village repeating the words Mâra Quânâ, or, in other words, buffalo devoted to Mâra. It is then let loose, and allowed to roam about for a year, during which time it is at liberty to eat of any crops without fear of molestation, as an idea prevails

native neighbours in Munzerabad. In Monsignor Gaume's work,[1] which has received the special commendation of the Pope, we are told, p. 295 (I quote from the *Pall Mall Gazette*), that "in the present age millions of demons surround us, and are more enterprising than ever, and we are apt to be too familiar with them. The circumambient air is full of demons (p. 305), and to these demons the Church attributes most of the tempests, waterspouts, and hurricanes that take place. Haunted houses and places are especially infected with devils (p. 317). Flights of locusts, blights, plague, cholera, potato disease, cattle disease, and vine disease are enumerated as works of these demons." Holy water, it appears, has the power of driving away these devils and all the evils they cause, and this method seems at least, as far as cheapness is concerned, to have the advantage of that pursued by my native neighbours.

---

[1] "L'Eau Bénite au dix-neuvième Siècle." Par Monsignor Gaume, Protonotaire Apostolique. Troisième édition. Paris.

that to interfere with the buffalo in any way would be sure to bring down the wrath of the Mâra. At the end of that time it is killed at the feast held annually in honour, or rather to divert the wrath, of the Mâra. I regret much that I have no further particulars as regards this feast, which is evidently the same as that alluded to by Sir Walter Elliot (see his interesting paper "On the Characteristics of the Population of India"*) as prevailing in the Dekhan, the Nizam's country, Mysore, the Carnatic, and the Northern Sircars, though it appears that there are some differences of detail. This sacrifice of a buffalo is supposed to be in substitution of the ancient practice of human sacrifices, which were practised by the Konds up to so late a period. It seems, I may observe, to be assumed, in the paper alluded to, that certain aboriginal peoples of India sacrificed human beings in the first instances, and then used buffaloes instead, owing to the influence of the more civilised people they came in contact with. But we have no means of proving that they did not commence with buffalo, and take to human sacrifice as an improvement. But whatever the order of precedence might have been, it seems certain that, as regards the object of this sacrifice, a buffalo is thought to answer the purpose quite as well as a human offering; and it is stated by Captain McVicar that amongst the Konds those who detest human sacrifices offer up buffaloes and bullocks with precisely the same ceremonies. In Montgomery's Report on Munzerabad, previously alluded to in this chapter, it is alleged that human sacrifices were said once to have been common in that part of the country. But the statement is made in a very vague way, and no evidence

* Vide *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, July, 1869.

of any sort is brought in support of it. I may add that during my intimate intercourse with the people, I never even heard of the tradition of such a thing. This fact of course proves very little except that human sacrifices, if ever customary in Munzerabad, must have been practised in very remote times indeed.

As the reader has probably by this time heard enough of these devils, I will now proceed to notice the ceremonies at the two great feasts in my neighbourhood.

One of these is called the Segee feast, held in honour of a goddess of that name, and this feast is held at one place in every parish in Munzerabad, as well as in the next country. This feast lasts no less than fourteen days, five of which, however, are taken up with preparations of one sort or another, and I have no space to enter into any lengthened description of the proceedings, which consist of dancing, offerings of fowls, rice, and fruit, walking barefooted through burning charcoal, and a number of ceremonies. One part of the ceremonies, however —and of a kind that would delight most Irishmen—seems worthy of notice, as there are only three places in the country where it is kept up; and, curiously enough, these villages are all in one part of the country. On one of the days of the feast all the villagers present—of the farmer and tody-drawer caste—provide themselves with firebrands made of dry plantain leaves, twisted close round the green pith of the plantain-tree. These brands measure from five to six feet in length, and are about six or seven inches in circumference. The whole of the people of the castes indicated then divide themselves into equal numbers, and, their heads being protected by a blanket wound round the temples, fall to with the brands all lit. At first this firebrand fight goes on

pretty evenly; but as the combatants get fewer, four or five will attack a single man, and probably one who has made himself obnoxious in some way or other to his assailants. This feast affords an excellent opportunity for paying off old scores, and as it occurs once a year, accounts may be settled with great punctuality. The blows are often very severe, and I have little doubt that on these occasions something much harder than tightly-bound plantain fibre finds its way into the brands. The natives themselves can give no account of the origin of this singular custom, and I have never heard of one similar to it in other parts of India.

The great event of the year in Munzerabad is the Dagoonday feast, held in honour of Râma. At Dagoonday is the only temple of any size in the county, and it is the only one that has what is commonly called by Englishmen a Juggernath chariot. This feast, which is a general fair as well, lasts about a week, and the great event is the pulling of the chariot. I once received an invitation in due form from the senior potail, or head man of the county; and an open hut, to protect me from the sun, having been erected in a commanding situation, I had a good view of the whole proceedings. The first thing that struck me was the very orderly way in which things were managed, so as to prevent collisions between rival villages. On this day the people of each village enter the feast in a regular order of precedence, and march three times round the temple, preceded by the village band, playing on instruments delightful, no doubt, to an Asiatic, but sufficient almost to rend the drum of a European ear. The villagers, having paid their devotions at the temple, then disperse amongst the booths of the fair, to be followed by the villagers next in precedence.

The villagers, with their respective bands, remain quite outside the boundaries of the fair until they receive an order from the senior potail to enter.

Though Englishmen in India certainly do curious things occasionally, I have some doubts as to whether I shall not appear to have somewhat exceeded the curious in superintending and directing the movements of an idol car. Nor do I think that I should have meddled with the said car had it not been for a strong belief on the part of the natives that a devil had been laid on it by a head man from a distant parish, who, to the annoyance of the people in my part of the country, had been exalting his horn at the feast the year previous. This gentleman, on that occasion, not only entered the feast with torches by day, but with two umbrellas, on the ground that he had a royal firman authorising the assumption of these dignities. The people in our part of the country said they knew nothing about that; that they didn't believe he had any authority of the kind, and very justly observed that he had better keep his umbrellas till he went to court. In short, they were so strongly of that opinion that a furious *mêlée* ensued. Many heads were broken, and so were the umbrellas, and the general confusion was such that the Government prohibited the man with the umbrellas from appearing at the feast in future unless he left his paraphernalia behind him.* It was therefore supposed that he had

* To some the fact of a serious *mêlée* ensuing from the introduction of two umbrellas at a feast may seem a ludicrous matter; but at the French Court, rather more than two hundred years ago, subjects as trifling were as gravely discussed and as seriously disputed. What rank justified a noble entering the Louvre in a coach, who should put on the King's shirt or the Queen's shift, and who should hand the King his napkin at dinner, were matters of serious dispute. A matter, too, of precedence of little more importance caused a duel between the Dukes de Beaufort and De Nemours, which ended in the death of the latter. (*Vide* Buckle's "History of Civilization," vol. ii. pp. 169-70.) Trifling as these

revenged himself by laying a devil on the Juggernath car. This huge machine, which was pulled by about five hundred people in front, and started by levers being applied to the wheels behind, showed at the very outset a disposition to go wrong, and, when being pulled back to its place, one of the inner wheels took the ground, and the more the people pulled, the faster it of course stuck. With extraordinary perseverance they tugged at the huge structure from twelve to nearly three in the afternoon, but with no other result than that of making the car more immovable than ever. At last, in despair, the head of the feast sent a deputation to me and my manager (who had accompanied me to the place), and begged us to assist them. We accordingly went down, and soon saw where the difficulty lay; but with all the force available, though directed in the right way, and so vigorously that I thought the people would shake the car to pieces, failed to move it one inch. It then occurred to me that the weight of the Brahmin priests and their friends, who were seated quite comfortably on the car, might make some difference, and I proposed to one of the farmers that it would be a good thing to get rid of them. He assented at once, and I immediately directed a six-foot hill-man to clear the car. A priest threatened and expostulated from the top; but the hill-man, who, by the way, was a tody-drawer, soon clambered up one of the huge wheels, dashed into the car, and speedily dislodged a number of these holy men. At that moment a tremendous effort was made, on rolled the

incidents may seem, they are the bricks and mortar of the history of the human mind; and perhaps, a hundred years hence, some Hindoo historian will illustrate the feelings of to-day by pointing with grave wonder to those disputes which once seemed so serious in the eyes of his ancestors, and will perhaps apologise for even alluding to matters which will then appear silly to the poorest Pariah.

huge machine, and I hastened out of the way lest I should fall an unwilling victim to Râma.* The fact was that the people were sick to death of the car and the priests, and everything connected with them, and I do not think I could give a better illustration of the contempt into which the Brahminical religion has fallen. In Munzerabad, however, it does not appear that what is called Brahminical influence ever prevailed very much, and it certainly had little power over the people in recent times. Montgomery, I may add, in his Report on Munzerabad, remarks that "the constitution of society seems to differ from that of the plains, in the general absence of Brahminical influence."

After the chariot had been got back to its place, I wended my way home, feeling in a state of low doubt as to whether I had not been committing idolatry in some shape or other, but consoling myself with the reflection that I had been merely assisting at an annual ceremony, which had almost entirely lost its religious character, and degenerated into a mere game.

To describe all the other feasts held by my native neighbours would entirely exhaust my space and patience, and weary the very soul of the reader. There are feasts to the household gods, to the god of crops, to implements of all sorts, to cattle, to the new moon before a certain feast, to the post around which the corn is trodden out, and to the dead, besides several other feasts of which I have no detailed particulars. The feast to the dead seems to me to be the most interesting, and I shall accordingly describe it as briefly as possible.

* It is commonly supposed by Englishmen that some people invariably throw themselves under the wheels of these cars, but I could not even hear of the tradition of such a thing having been done in our part of the country.

The feast in commemoration of the dead is held by all sects except Mahommedans, and may be said to be held by the head of the family almost entirely. It is held chiefly in memory of the father of the head of the family, and any particular dish to which the deceased was partial is made on that day. The ceremonies are performed at about seven or eight o'clock in the evening, when the house is carefully cleaned and prepared. Plantain leaves (the ordinary plates of the Hindoos) are then spread, and a little of every dish is placed upon them. A lamp is then lighted, and some sweet-smelling gum ignited. After this the whole of the people go into the verandah, and the door of the house is then shut. A strict silence is then preserved, and not even a whisper is allowed for the space of about five minutes, during which time the spirit of the dead is supposed to have satisfied his appetite. On re-entering, the portions set aside for the spirits of the dead are eaten by the head of the family, and the rest eat of the food, portions of which had been set aside for these sacred rites. To this feast friends of the family may be invited.

I have now to notice an appalling list of no less than thirty-seven deities worshipped by all classes in Munzerabad except the Pariahs, who, however, are allowed to make offerings if they wish to do so, but in a very roundabout way, as the offerings must be handed to a farmer, in the first instance, to be carefully washed before being given into the hands of the priest. The list, as sent me by my manager, reads rather oddly, and it is curious to read, under the head of "Residence of Deity," that god No. 1, the god of the Brahmins, resides in heaven; while god No. 2 resides at Dagoonday, the village at which I superintended the chariot-dragging.

Of the thirty-seven gods and goddesses, twenty-eight are presided over by Brahmins, and the remainder by priests of other Hindoo castes. None of the offerings to these deities are of blood, and as none of these deities are supposed to injure man or beast, their worship is much neglected; and this is necessarily more especially the case in a wild, jungly country, where the grand, but often gloomy forests, the majestic nature of the scenery, and the sweeping blasts of the south-west monsoon fill the uneducated mind with awe, and people the air with stormy and malevolent spirits.

As for these benignant gods and goddesses, I have no space for even a list of their names and places of residence, and the reader who is curious on these subjects can fully inform himself as to the nature and history of most of them by a reference to the valuable work of the Abbé Dubois.

Looking backwards on all these deities and devils, two general facts stand out very prominently. One is that there are a number of benevolent deities from whence no harm can arise; the other is that there are a number of devils who work all the evil in the world. But when you come to inquire further, and, in short, cross-question the people (see chapter on Religion), you will find that behind and beyond all these benevolent deities stands a general belief in one great Author of the universe, who has merely delegated a portion of his authority to numerous gods and goddesses. As to the devils, they simply seem to be evil spirits, and, with the exception of the various Mâras, who are all under one common head, are thought, for the most part, to act quite on their own responsibility.

How the people of Munzerabad came to have such

an extraordinary number of deities and devils is a question that now naturally arises, and which seems to me to admit of but merely a conjectural explanation. When the first settlers immigrated from the interior of Mysore into Munzerabad, shortly after the subversion of the Hallibede dynasty in 1326,* it is certain that they must have carried with them the Brahminical worship which they at present have, as well as all the feasts and observances which they still hold in common with people of the open plains of Mysore. Now, the people of the plains do not at present worship any of the devils that are worshipped in Munzerabad, excepting the Mâra, and generally on occasions when cholera or small-pox breaks out; and we are therefore left to conclude that the people who immigrated from the plains must have either borrowed this devil-worship in a great measure from the aborigines of the country, or that the general surroundings must have developed their limited devil-belief to an extraordinary extent. It was, however, probably a mixture of these two conjectures which produced the state of things at present existing. They no doubt borrowed something from the aborigines, and developed by degrees their originally limited belief in the devil.

It seems worthy of remark that on the occasions when devil-worship is had recourse to in the plains, the Pariahs must be sent for, and they seem to be the sole people through whom the devil can at all be influenced. When the Pariahs are called in to get an epidemical devil out of the country, the first thing to be done is to give them plenty of tody, sheep, and rice. After the meal is over drums are beaten, and the Pariah supposed to be the favourite of the devil

I take this date of the immigration from Montgomery's Report.

receives its spirit, or, in other words, becomes possessed of the devil. He then commences to dance and rave, and after this the people ask what is to be done. If cholera happens to be the epidemic to be got rid of, he tells them to make an image, which is supposed to be like the devil himself, and to make offerings to it of grain, &c. The image and the offerings are then taken to the next village, where offerings are again made, and the Mâra passed on till, after visiting many villages, it takes about thirty people to carry the offerings. In the open country there seems to be no terminus for the Mâra, as there is in Munzerabad, where, as I may remind the reader, the whole affair is thrown into the river, and the general result is that some one wiser than his neighbours appropriates the image and everything belonging to it. In cases of epidemic small-pox, the offerings to the Mâra are of an inferior description, and the image and food are merely placed near some running stream.*

This Mâra the reader has heard so much of is evidently the devil, the evil spirit, and the tempter of the Buddhist scriptures;† but, to the natives of Mysore,

* "He led the boy o'er bank and fell
Until he came to a woodland brook—
The running stream dissolved the spell."
Lay of the Last Minstrel, Canto III.

The virtue of a living stream in all matters connected with devils and spirits was a firm article of popular faith in Scotland.

† "Mâra, the tempter, the great antagonist of Bhuddha, as well as of his followers, is a very important personage in the Bhuddhist Scriptures. He is in many places the representative of evil, the evil spirit, or, in Christian terminology, the devil, conquered by Bhuddha, but not destroyed by him. In the Dhammapada his character is less mythological than in other Bhuddhist writings. His retinue is, however, mentioned (v. 175), and his flower-pointed arrow (v. 46) reminds one of the Hindoo god of love. We read that Mâra will overcome the careless, but not the faithful (vv. 7, 8, 57); that men try to escape from his dominion (v. 34) and his snares (vv. 37, 276, 350); that he should be attacked with the weapon of knowledge (v. 40); that the wise who have conquered him are led out of this world (v. 175)."—Max Müller's "Introduction to Buddaghosha's Parables," pp. xxviii—ix.

he and his followers seem simply to be thought of as causes of pain, disease, and loss to man and beast. But the character of Mâra must, no doubt, vary considerably in accordance with the education of the individual and the state of civilisation he is living amongst. And here I cannot refrain from uttering one word of caution to those who wish to form accurate ideas of native conception of various gods and devils, and that is simply that they must never take the interpretation found in books to be the real belief of the people as a whole.* In fact, to ascertain at all what the body of the people of any part of India really believe is extremely difficult, and it is probable that the belief of the people is nearly always at variance with the written expositions of their faith.

We have now really done with these deities and devils, and I have now only to notice a few of the superstitious fancies of my native neighbours. The first fancy of this kind worthy of notice is the idea that if a leper be buried instead of being burnt (which all lepers ought to be), rain will not fall. A good many years ago the usual April showers held off, and the cause of this was, in the opinion of the natives, clearly to be traced to the fact of two lepers having been buried in the vicinity of my property. Now, though every one admitted that they should have been burnt, it seemed to be nobody's business in particular to dig them up again. As the natives generally ran to me with their difficulties, I was plagued to death about these lepers, till at last I

* As an illustration of this it may be mentioned that the Nirvâna, or what may be called the Heaven of Heavens, of the Buddhists, has one meaning for the educated classes, and another for the masses of the people; the first holding that the soul, in entering Nirvâna, is freed from all wishes and desires, and has an entire indifference to joy and pain, to good and evil; while the masses look upon Nirvâna rather in the light of a Mahommedan paradise, or of blissful Elysian fields.—*Vide* Max Müller's "Introduction to Buddaghosha's Parables," p. xiv.

sent a request to the potail of the village that he would have them disinterred. This was done, and rain having fallen copiously the following day, I have no doubt the instance will last the country for the next hundred years. The natives, I may add, have an idea that lepers, instead of decaying like people who have died in other ways, dry up into a sort of mummy, with the skin turned into a substance like leather.

In many of the fields in Munzerabad you will see the blackened stump of a palm-tree stuck into the ground roots uppermost. This is to keep the evil eye off the crop, and it certainly has the effect of attracting one's attention. Almost anything that attracts attention is useful for this purpose, and I may mention that the pictures out of the *Illustrated London News* were often given by me to my native neighbours; and at last one man, who seemed anxious to have as many as possible, said that they would be useful to put up on the walls of his house to keep off the evil eye. My native neighbours have many other superstitious fancies, but none deserving of any particular notice.

In this country it is well known that there is no surer test of the prosperity or adversity experienced in particular years than the number of marriages contracted. In India society is so constituted that the mere number of marriages contracted would never form any guide by which to gauge the national prosperity. But the expenses incurred in marriages in India form a guide which tells its tale with mathematical accuracy. The Englishman, when he becomes richer, is fond of daily display, or at least of many permanent additions to his daily expenses. So, too, the Mahommedan. But, as a rule, the Hindoo cares to make a show almost solely on

and the washerman. The farmers and the people in the country hoarded their values in grain, and not in cash and jewels. When a native clerk, who was for many years in my service, succeeded his father (a farmer in the open country), he came into, amongst other things, a large pit full of raggee (a grain which will keep for almost an indefinite period), which lasted him and all his belongings for I forget how many years, and enabled him, besides, to entertain the people from my estate who had business in the plains. Now his case was just an instance of what generally occurred. But all this is changed now. Communications have been opened, grain can readily be sent to the sea-coast, and the result is that a farmer leaves his son more cash and jewels, and but little grain; and it is this fact which accounts in no small measure for the greater quantity of money the farmers have now at command. Formerly he had a command of values in grain; now he has it in coin and jewels, which have taken the place of grain as media of exchange. This, of course, is very natural and extremely convenient; but in India there is one tremendous disadvantage connected with it, which must readily occur to the reader. You can't eat money and jewels; and when dearth and famine come, what then? Not only, then, is the accession of wealth, as shown in the expenditure on marriages, not so great as it would at first sight appear to be, but the risks arising from dearth and bad seasons have been enormously increased. In England it would hardly matter in what shape a man held his values, as he could always exchange his gold for grain at a moment's notice; but a single glance at the map of Asia will show the reader that no corn can come to India from the countries lying to the westward,

while from the countries to the east, as British Burmah, but a small quantity can be depended on, and even for that, competition is likely to arise, if it has not already arisen, from other quarters. Under these circumstances it seems plain that, to be safe, India ought to have food for many years in advance; and until extended information shall have shown the people the importance of not being in too great a hurry to convert their grain into gold, it seems plain that it is the duty of Government to take the most careful precautions with the view of averting dearth. As, however, I shall have occasion to revert to this subject in another part of this book, I shall therefore reserve a portion of what I have to say on this subject.

To return from what may be called a slight digression, we will now take some account of the marriage ceremonies of my native neighbours. And here I must confine myself to a very limited outline, as a full account of all the details would require a great deal more space than I can possibly devote to the subject.

Preliminary inquiries having been made by the women of the family, and a young lady of suitable family fixed upon, the first thing to be done is to call in a Brahmin priest, who consults the Shaster, or is supposed to do so, and determines as to whether the marriage will be a profitable one or not. If the oracle be favourable, and the young lady's parents consent to the match, another consultation occurs as to the most favourable day and hour for the projected bridegroom to go to the girl's house and seal the engagement by putting on the tallee (a flat piece of silver) and chain. This is done by the priest, and is equivalent to publishing the banns. It may be mentioned here that there are many unfavour-

able omens which may be met with when the people on behalf of the bridegroom are going to the young lady's village to make up the match. If they pass a Brahmin, a snake, a funeral, a jay crossing from right to left, or a cow, or should they see a new house being built, or mud being plastered previous to cow-dunging the walls of the house,—all these are unlucky signs, and the party must try another day. After the banns are published by putting on the tallee and chain, the next thing to be done is to settle about the amount of things required for the wedding breakfast. This, though given at the bride's house, is always provided by the bridegroom, and it is always an object to extract from him as large a quantity of supplies as possible, as from them the good woman of the bride's house endeavours to take as much as possible for her own use. Hence one often hears that So-and-so made me pay through the nose for my son's or brother's marriage.

On the day on which the bridegroom leaves his house for the bride's, a dinner is given to the whole of his village. A few hours before he sets out he is washed with saffron and water, then anointed with oil and washed again with warm water, after which he is dressed in new clothes, and duly ornamented with bracelets, a necklet of beads, and earrings, and an extraordinary-looking head-piece, minutely cut out of the pith of some tree, is put on. After this ceremony he is not allowed to touch the earth, and, carried in a palanquin, or riding on a horse or bullock, as the case may be, he sets out for the bride's house, preceded by the village band, which plays and drums all the way. In the meantime the bride has been got up with a similar ceremony, and when the bridegroom arrives the marriage

is celebrated forthwith. The priest goes through the whole service in Sanscrit, or at least utters a combination of sounds which are supposed to be Sanscrit, and at one part of the ceremony I may mention that the priest ties man and wife together by winding a cotton thread round them both. In some parts of the country the people seem to treat the priest with little ceremony, and at a tody-drawer's wedding I once attended I was much amused at one of the audience calling out, "He is doing it all wrong" (the priest was somewhat a novice apparently), while another said, "Never mind, let us get it over." At one part of the ceremony a small fee was required to be given to the priest, who, evidently having no idea of giving credit, refused to proceed until the amount was paid in. Upon this there was a round of jokes at the expense of Brahmins in general, and it was ironically observed that this holy race invariably showed a profound contempt for profits of any sort. The whole of the ceremonies on this day last a long time, but, like most things, they at last come to an end, and people sit down to the wedding breakfast. For guests of other castes a separate meal is prepared. Betel-nuts and pepper leaves are handed, too, to each guest separately, and it is a point of etiquette always to leave a couple of leaves and a few nuts on the plate when returning it. On the following day, or some time on the same day, the newly-married couple set out for the bridegroom's house, and, on arrival, more ceremonies have to be gone through, and amongst them I may mention the following:—Brass plates filled with unboiled rice are placed in front of the door. The bridegroom then, taking his bride by the hand, leads her into the house, and she has then to upset the rice and plates, causing a jingle. This

is done to show that she has a right to the house. On the same evening certain ceremonies are gone through which no man is allowed to witness. These ceremonies are performed by the women, and every effort made on my part to discover what they are has been ineffectual. On the next day a great number of ceremonies have to be gone through, and one of the most curious, and certainly the most disagreeable, consists in the bride and bridegroom pelting one another with saffron-coloured water. The vessels containing the saffron-water, I should have mentioned, have bunches of flowers floating in them, and the pelting commences with the flowers. At the close of this day the ceremonies are concluded, and, if of a suitable age, the couple live together as man and wife. Up to the close of the day when the marriage is celebrated by the priest, the ceremonies are the same all over the country; but the ceremonies gone through subsequently are peculiar to Munzerabad and the adjacent country.

When I first went to Munzerabad marriages were usually contracted at ages which in this country would be equivalent to a girl of sixteen or seventeen marrying a man of twenty or twenty-five years of age; but marriages before the age of puberty have since become far from uncommon, and seem to me to have a tendency to increase amongst all classes.

A widow can re-marry, but if she chooses to do so, must submit to very inferior ceremonies. The progeny, too, of the second marriage lie under several social disadvantages, and find great difficulty in getting married into a respectable family. No priest attends at the tying on of the tallee, or betrothal plate, and chain, and this office is performed by an old widow, who receives a

small fee for officiating on the occasion. The people who attend this kind of wedding go simply for the wedding breakfast, and depart immediately after it is over. The guests are only from the widow's village, and altogether the assembly is extremely small. Should she have any children by her former husband, they are taken from her and kept by her first husband's relations, and the marriage tallee and ornaments are also made over; in fact, she is stripped of everything belonging to her that came through her former husband. Notwithstanding all this, however, and the low estimation that a marriage of this sort is held in, there are still expenses to be incurred for jewellery and food, which amount, I should say, in round numbers, to about a fourth of the expenditure of a regular marriage. When a widow becomes such without having attained the age of puberty, I suspect that the restrictions as to her re-marrying, except as a widow, are sometimes evaded. I know of one case of the kind having occurred in my own village, and though the mother of the girl was fined by the head of the caste, nothing more was said about it.

We will now proceed to bury my native neighbour.

When the members of a family have finally decided that one of the house (we will suppose the member to be a man) is absolutely dying, or that his chances of recovery are extremely small, notice is sent to his friends, and they, having dressed themselves not quite in their best, but a great deal better than usual, come to take a last look at the dying person. They come, sit and look for some time at the dying man, and depart. As it is considered unlucky that any one should expire in the house, the dying person is then removed to one of the outhouses, and the moment he is dead a funeral cannon

is fired off. These funeral cannons, though small, make a very loud report, and, lying awake, as in these climates one often does, there is something rather impressive in that message of death as it booms in long waves through the still night air. When all is ready for the funeral, four or five of these cannons, which are always fired muzzle upwards, and are fixed into the ground by means of an iron spike welded on to the breech, are placed in order on one side of the grave, and the village band takes its stand on the opposite side at a little distance off. The deceased is then seated in a sort of extemporary arm-chair, with a clean cotton cloth around him, and his right arm placed in an easy position, with a silver bracelet on the wrist. The female relatives of the family surround the body, and, from time to time, raise a lamentable sort of wail, while the cannons are fired off at intervals, and the band plays some funeral air. The grave is dug some six or eight feet deep, and a hole is tunnelled in one side of it, into which the body is placed sitting, with the arms across the chest, and facing towards the north. The grave is then filled in, and the body is thus walled up with earth. Some plantain stems with boughs across are placed over the grave, and the thing is done. If the deceased was a man I cared about, I used often to contribute some gunpowder for the cannon-firing, to which they seem to attach considerable importance. About the time of the mutinies an impression got abroad that the Government did not like all this cannon-firing, and one old farmer, who thought his end was near, spoke to me about it, and seemed to be uneasy at the prospect of being buried without the usual honours. As the natives had no pickaxes, digging these graves must have been a laborious business at one

time; but since my arrival the people in my neighbourhood at least have had the best means of setting to work, and the deaths that occurred were regularly reported to me by a demand for pickaxes and crowbars. All classes bury with their faces to the north, and the following is the tradition on the subject. The people say that four of their priests started on a journey to the four cardinal points. Those from the east, west, and south returned (as they easily might have done, by the way, without going very far), but the one who went to the north did not return, and they therefore bury their dead facing the north in expectation of his arrival.

The funeral ceremonies in the plains differ a good deal from the above, as no guns are fired, and the dead are always buried lying at full length, with their faces to the north.* In Munzerabad unmarried people are buried in this way, and there is no sitting in state. In both the plain and hill countries of Mysore, the spirit of the deceased is believed to linger about the house up to the twelfth day, when the last funeral ceremony is performed.†

The language spoken in Munzerabad is Canarese, one of what are called the Dravidian languages of Southern India. I may state here generally, that the leading difference between the Northern and Southern languages is, that in the Northern Sanscrit-derived words predominate, while in the Dravidian languages they are in the minority. Canarese, I believe, has so many Sanscrit-derived words, that it could not get on without

* In Ward's work there is an account of a native burial in Bengal, with the face to the north, but perhaps this custom is common all over India.

† This notion of the spirit lingering about the house for some time seems common amongst the negroes, who believe that the spirit lingers about the place where the body has been buried, and some of the Hudson's Bay Indians share the same belief.—*Vide* Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization," p. 139.

them at all; but it is alleged that the Tamul language has been sufficiently developed to enable it, were it necessary, to stand alone without any assistance from Sanscrit whatever. Such a thing as a Canarese literature does not, and probably never did, exist. I dare say, however, we should have known more as to what books did exist in that language had not that madman, Tippoo, burned up the whole of the royal library at Mysore. He was asked what was to be done with the books and papers which filled several long apartments in the palace. "To the stables with them," said Tippoo; "they will do to boil the horses' food with." And thus perished, with the exception of a few documents preserved by the artifice of a Brahmin, the whole of the valuable collection left by Chick Deo Raj (in 1704), who had added largely to a library which was extensive when he inherited it. Amongst other valuable documents, the library held a copy of all inscriptions then extant in his dominions.*

In the earlier part of this chapter I have said that a certain class of farmers is strictly vegetarian, and that the remainder of the population indulge in meat; but, practically speaking, the food of the people is almost entirely farinaceous, and consists of rice and raggee in about equal proportions. The meat-eating farmers and tody-drawers get meat, of course, occasionally when they are successful out shooting, and now and then they come in for a few fish dinners, but meat with them may be looked upon as merely an occasional treat. The climate all along the western frontier of Mysore is too wet for sheep, and none but the Pariahs will touch the flesh of cattle. Nor, with perhaps, of course, a few rare excep-

* Wilks.

tions, will any of the upper classes in any way be accessory to the killing of cattle. They have an equal objection, too, to firing at bison. I recollect once stalking a herd of bison in the wet weather when I had only a single rifle with me, which steadily refused to go off. There were two natives with me, one of whom had his matchlock. Now, I was so concealed behind a rock, and had the wind so much in my favour, that the bison were hardly startled by the sound of my cap going off, and I proposed to the native that he should aim the matchlock, while I pulled the trigger. But he was not to be taken in in this way, and positively declined to touch the matchlock while it was being fired at the bison. I may add that, in consequence of the powder in the pan being ignited so close to one's eye, and from the hang-fire, it is very difficult for a European to make anything of a shot with a matchlock.

The natives are very fond of going visiting about amongst one another, and their method of getting rid of people who are inclined to pay what are called in this country Galway visits is certainly extremely practical, and in some cases, no doubt, worthy of imitation in these islands. "What do you do when a man stays too long?" I once asked. "If he stays longer than the usual time, we say, 'Come along, brother-in-law' (this term is used commonly, just as we would say 'my good fellow'), 'and cut some firewood.' 'Come along, brother-in-law, and give us a hand with the ploughing, or other farm work.'"

I have often been surprised at the extensive knowledge my native neighbours have of the various plants and trees that grow wild in the jungles. When forest is cut down, allowed to dry and burned off, with the

first rains there springs up a great mass of vegetation, a whole army of plants, none of which had grown on the land before, as far as can be ascertained. Now, there is hardly one of these that the natives cannot readily name, and tell you the properties of. I once commenced making a list of these plants that sprang up thus spontaneously, and soon got up to about eighty specimens. I regret that I never completed the list, for there were no doubt many more which escaped my observation. Equally accurate, too, is their knowledge of the various kinds of edible fungi which abound in these jungles in the rainy season. This knowledge, however, is only at first sight surprising, for we find an equally accurate knowledge existing amongst the Australian savages; and this no doubt arose from the necessity they must have been under, in times of scarcity, of experimenting on everything that came within their reach. What is more surprising is to find that in this country the edibility of so many species of fungi is unknown. And this fact, to my mind, tends very greatly to prove that in ancient times the natives of these islands could never have suffered from serious famines.

In this chapter I have attempted to give some account of the life and customs of my native neighbours. In the next chapter I purpose going at considerable length into the character of the people.

CHAPTER III.

NATIVE CHARACTER.—PRIVATE RELATIONS OF LIFE.

THE commonest charge brought against the Indians is that of ingratitude, and the fact that they have no word in their language exactly corresponding to our word thanks * is commonly brought forward as an undeniable proof of this moral deficiency. We find Dean Trench concluding a similar deficiency in the Brazilian vocabulary to be a clinching argument in support of the verdict passed by a Jesuit missionary on some tribes of that nation. And I here quote the entire passage, as it affords a good instance of the way in which people form conclusions from what I cannot but consider to be very equivocal data. Says the Dean:—"Dobrizhoffer, the Jesuit missionary, in his curious History of the Abipones, tells us that neither these nor the Guarinas, two of the

* "The Hindoos have no word for 'thank you' in their common language, and gratitude itself appears to constitute no part of their virtues. The greatest benefits conferred very rarely meet with even the least acknowledgment. I have known European physicians perform the most extraordinary cures on the bodies of the natives gratuitously, without a solitary instance occurring of a single individual returning to acknowledge the favour. Amongst the highest orders of Hindoos, however, the master of a house sometimes says to a guest on his departure, 'You will excuse all inattentions;' and the guest replies, 'Oh, sir, you are of a distinguished caste! what shall I say in return for the manner in which I have been entertained? Such food! such a bed! But this is like yourself. No one entertains a guest as you do. May Lŭkshmée (the Goddess of Riches) ever dwell in your house.'"—Ward's "History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos," p. 286.

principal native tribes of Brazil, possessed any word in the least corresponding to our thanks. But what wonder, if the feeling of gratitude was entirely absent from their hearts, that they should not have possessed the corresponding word in their vocabularies? Nay, how should they have had it there? And that this is the true explanation is plain from a fact which the same writer records, that although inveterate askers, they never showed the slightest sense of obligation or gratitude when they obtained what they sought; never saying more than 'This will be useful to me,' or, 'This is what I wanted.'" Now, these Brazilians may, for aught I know to the contrary, be a very ungrateful set of people, but the facts adduced by the Dean at least do not prove them to be so. His reasoning sounds very conclusive, but it will not bear examination. The absence of a word in our language which we are obliged to supply by the use of the term "ennui," would hardly be thought to prove the original want of such a sensation amongst the British. I might argue, and, to an ordinary reader, very conclusively, that the people of Munzerabad are an ungrateful race; for, though not inveterate askers, they occasionally beg the loan of a crowbar, a present of a little lead or gunpowder, leave to take firewood out of my clearing, or material for building their houses, and when they have got what they want they express no sense of obligation; not only do they not say, "Thank you"—for they have no such word in their language—but they often turn away, saying merely, "Very well," and sometimes give utterance to nothing but a sort of satisfied "humph"—a sound by which they express assent to, or satisfaction at, anything. And it is just by the expression of conclusions like these that the minds of people coming to India

are fatally prejudiced. From all that he has read and heard, an Englishman concludes that gratitude is a feeling unknown to the people, and he therefore thinks it unnecessary to put their character to the test in that respect. And truly said Elphinstone, with a subdued and exquisite irony, "The natives of India are often accused of want of gratitude, but it does not appear that those who have made the charge have done much to inspire such a sentiment." Years ago, and when there were only four planters on one side of the province, the treasury ran dry, and we could not, therefore, obtain cash for the bills we had presented for payment. To me the matter was nothing, for I simply sent into the villages round about, and borrowed from my native neighbours. But when I visited a friend, some twelve miles off, I found him disconsolate, and without a rupee to pay his coolies with. I told him I had no difficulty in obtaining money. "Here," he answered, "the disobliging, ungrateful beasts won't lend me a farthing." "Did you ever lend them one when they wanted money?" I asked. "Well, no," he answered, and evidently staggered, "I never did."

People, again, are often surprised and disgusted at natives expressing little or nothing on receiving trifling gifts. I am not, I confess, at all surprised. When I come to consider their notions of the wealth of Europeans, I would as soon expect a native to express any sense of obligation for a trifling gift as I would expect a dog (if he could speak) to express any particular gratitude for bones thrown him by a man who had plenty to spare. I have often in Scotland heard complaints made of the want of signs of thankfulness for trifling gifts; but I confess I do not attach par-

ticular importance to failings of that sort, which are oftener failings of speech than failings of heart. But suppose that you extend your experiments, or suppose that you try your native neighbours with something more substantial than articles that you can easily spare, and that you would never for one moment miss, and I do not think you will have any reason to complain of the result. Go and visit his sick child, give it medicine, and give it kindly, and you will be as much satisfied with the tone and manner of his grateful salaam (an expression of respect, but which, when said with a particular tone and manner, stands for thanks) as if he had affirmed that he thanked you from the bottom of his heart. Ask that man in turn to do any little thing for you, to bring his cattle and plough up a bit of garden, to lend a hand to thatch your house, or any little thing which lies in his power, and see how ready he is to oblige you in turn. Lend a man money in his need, and see if he will forget the obligation, though he may not say much at the time. When I come to consider what I have done for my native neighbours, and they have done for me during the many years I lived among them, I must admit that the balance is pretty even. I have often lent money for short intervals without interest (and, unless the amount was considerable, without even taking a receipt), and they, when, as sometimes happened, the treasury was exhausted, have often lent me money without charging a farthing for the obligation. On one occasion I kept money, borrowed in this way, for a longer period than usual, and I told my manager to send the money to the farmer's house, and give him something additional for interest. Next morning came the farmer, and, without a word, returned the interest to my

manager. We were at work in the plantation at the time, and when I saw my farmer friend looking for my manager, I at once guessed his intentions. No, he would not take it. "You don't take interest from us," he said, "and we are not going to take it from you." To this I could add many other incidents of a similar kind, but I will not trouble my readers with other instances of those offices of good neighbourhood, which are, I fancy, more evenly distributed over the world than travellers would have us believe. It is sufficient to say that the people did anything in reason for me, and that I, in turn, did everything in reason for them. Were I to judge of our hill-men by their words, I should pronounce them to be as deficient in gratitude as the Brazilians are said to be. Judging them by their acts, I, at least, have no reason to assert that they are wanting in that virtue.

It must, however, be borne in mind, that where we would give vent to the deepest expressions of gratitude, they say nothing. We place the highest value on life, while they, being blessed with a comfortable fatalism, which assumes that each man's destiny is written on his forehead in invisible characters, and being, besides, untroubled with any doubts or thoughts as to the nature of their reception in the next world, take matters of life and death a great deal more unconcernedly, and, compared with our ideas, they may be said to present an almost apathetic indifference on these subjects. I have seen a man save another from drowning, and in exactly one of those situations where most risk has to be incurred, and hardly a remark made on either side; and, as an instance of what we would consider to be an act worthy of some notice, but which they think little of, I may mention the following incident.

Some miles from my house there is a cave so deep that the longest sticks we could procure would not reach to the end of it. Into that cave one morning a bear was marked down, and as we could get him out in no other way, we lit a large fire at the entrance, with the view of smoking him out. There were, however, so many crevices in the roof of the cave that I felt sure that Bruin need not come out unless he liked. I accordingly sent all the people away to some distance, and, with a single man, sat over the mouth of the cave. The result that I anticipated soon followed. Imagining that we had given up the thing in despair, and being desirous of leaving such questionable quarters, Bruin presently appeared, looking cautiously about him. I fired, and wounded him somewhere in the throat—seriously, but not fatally. He plunged into a jungly ravine close to the cave, pursued by a bull terrier, which detained him sufficiently long to enable me to run round and cut him off. A hill-man accompanied me, armed with a general officer's sword which I had brought out—why, I really forget now, for it was as blunt as a poker. The bull terrier rejoined me; and, in company with two other natives who had run after us, I got up on a piece of rock about three feet high. The man with the sword was on my right, and the two natives—who were unarmed—on my left. Sore and angry, the bear presently made his appearance. I fired at and hit him; he turned round, took a look at us, and charged. As he came on I fired my remaining shot; the man with the sword struck him on the back, and in a single second more old Bruin had tumbled us all off our eminence. There we were—four men, a wounded bear, and a bull terrier—all on the ground together. The man of the sword, though, laid about him

right manfully, and the bear, being either alarmed at so many people tumbling about, or exhausted with his wounds, retreated into the ravine out of which he had emerged. By this time a loaded gun was handed me: we soon despatched him, and I have the skin at home, with the sword mark on the back of it. The man who had shown so much pluck was a young farmer from the adjacent village, and I at once offered him the sword with which he had defended me. But he seemed to think he had done nothing, and positively declined it, saying that his neighbours would be jealous of his having such a fine-looking thing. I had, however, a knife made after the native fashion, and gave it him in commemoration of the event.

Though, however, natives will have their own lives saved and save other people's with the same indifference, it must not be supposed that under no circumstances will the saving of life affect their feelings. Where the saving of life involves a great deal of trouble and attention, they express, in their own way, as much gratitude as would satisfy any reasonable man. And, as a case to the point, I may recur to that of the farmer who was mentioned in the first chapter as having been wounded severely by a tiger. He was carried to my house, and laid on one of my beds, in the next room to myself, and, for the first night, in the same room with a friend of mine, who fortunately had been educated for medicine before he betook himself to the service. The Indian's arms were almost torn to pieces by thirteen lacerated wounds; but the wounds were skilfully dressed, bandages were applied, and water was dropped on them day and night. The man, however, had a good constitution; no fever came on; and, to the astonishment of myself and of the whole

country-side, he completely recovered. Ever afterwards, when I returned from a visit to one of our cantonments, or after an absence from home, he was one of my first visitors, though his house was four or five miles from mine, and brought me little presents of honey, fruit, and eggs.

Nor are they wanting in those small returns for small favours which sufficiently indicate their appreciation of kindness; and though at the risk of exciting a smile, I may mention that I have frequently had a soda-water bottle that had been given full of medicine returned full of honey.

Cases of ingratitude must, no doubt, have occasionally occurred; and, in the ordinary average of affairs, it is certain that a proportion of unfavourable examples must have cropped up, but at this moment I can only recollect the following one. A farmer from a distant village once came to me for medicine. I gave him the medicine in a wine-glass, and told him that if a cure resulted from the dose I should expect to be paid for it. He went away, and I never saw him or the glass from that day to this.

I conclude these remarks on obligations in general by informing the reader that my native neighbours supplied me with straw to thatch my house with the first year, and that not a man came to be paid. I asked my native clerk and overseer how that was, and he said that as it was my first year the farmers did not mean to charge anything for the straw; and I was accordingly obliged to send for them and insist on their taking the money. Years afterwards, when I opened a new estate ten miles from my original one, the farmer who supplied me with straw for thatching wanted to give it me for nothing. It would be easy to attribute interested motives for this;

but to what can interested motives not be attributed? "Do good even to the wicked" seems a position difficult to turn; but "it is best to stop the dog's mouth with a morsel."

Turning now to the subject of veracity, I am insensibly reminded of the text a worthy Scotch clergyman of the olden days preached from, and of the remark he first made thereon. "'I said in my haste, All men are liars.' Ay, David, and had ye lived in this parish ye might have said it at your *leesure.*" In saying that David might have extended his remarks to my native neighbours, had he lived amongst them, I might, if I chose to indulge in a little *suggestio falsi*, at once dismiss the whole subject of veracity. But this matter is not to be so easily got rid of. In truth, of all the subjects I have undertaken to write about, this is the most difficult; for who can tell the proportion of lies to truth in any country or in any class? And the subject, moreover, is so clogged by the variation in the current value of words, that it becomes very difficult to draw the line between lies and exaggerations. Talking of variations in the value of words and modes of expression, it may not be amiss if we turn back a little in the history of our phraseology, and listen to the complaints that Tillotson made many a year ago, and which were quoted by Addison on the 21st of June, 1714. Said the worthy archbishop:—"The old English plainness and sincerity, that generous integrity of nature and honesty of disposition, which always argues true greatness of mind, and is usually accompanied with undaunted courage and resolution, is in a great measure lost among us. The dialect of conversation is nowadays so swelled with vanity and compliment, and so surfeited (as I may

say) with expressions of kindness and respect, that if a man that lived an age or two ago should return into the world again, he would really want a dictionary to help him to understand his own language, and to know the true, intrinsic value of the phrases in fashion; and would hardly at first believe at what a low rate the highest strains and expressions of kindness imaginable do commonly pass in current payment; and when he should come to understand it, it would be a great while before he could bring himself, with a good countenance and a good conscience, to converse with men upon equal terms, and in their own way." Following that, we have a letter of Addison, which he gives as exemplifying the foregoing passage, and which is so pleasantly written that I am sure the reader will prefer it to any remarks I might make to the same effect. The letter is supposed to be written by the Ambassador of Bantam to his royal master a little after his arrival in England.

"Master,—The people where I now am have tongues further from their hearts than from London to Bantam, and thou knowest the inhabitants of one of these places do not know what is done in the other. They call thee and thy subjects barbarians, because we speak what we mean; and account themselves a civilised people, because they speak one thing and mean another; truth they called barbarity, and falsehood politeness. Upon my first landing, one, who was sent by the king of this place to meet me, told me that he was extremely sorry for the storm I had met with just before my arrival. I was troubled to hear him grieve and afflict himself on my account; but in less than a quarter of an hour he smiled, and was as merry as if nothing had happened. Another, who came with him, told me, by my interpreter,

he should be glad to do me any service that lay in his power. Upon which I desired him to carry one of my portmanteaus for me; but, instead of serving me according to his promise, he laughed, and bid another do it. I lodged, the first week, at the house of one who desired me to think myself at home, and to consider his house as my own. Accordingly, I the next morning began to knock down one of the walls of it, in order to let in the fresh air, and had packed up some of the household goods, of which I intended to have made thee a present; but the false varlet no sooner saw me falling to work but he sent word to me to give over, for that he would have no such doings in his house." After some more lamentations in the same strain, the imaginary ambassador says that he does not know how he shall negotiate anything with this people, since there is so little credit to be given to them; and, as an instance of their lying disposition, observes that he is often told that the king's scribe is not at home, though perhaps he saw the scribe aforesaid go into his house the very moment before. But the whole letter is an amusing illustration of the current value of terms, and a little reflection as to the value of expressions in his own country will perhaps help to teach some of our countrymen to distinguish between lies and complimentary falsehoods of language which are not intended to deceive.

I have dwelt upon this point to what may appear to many to be an unjustifiable length, but prejudices are so easily acquired from the want of reflection, and young Englishmen acquire so readily a universal distrust from inferring that the language of compliments is necessarily an evidence of a general intention to deceive, that it would be difficult to enter too fully into this part of

the subject, which is well illustrated amongst themselves by the proverb—"If the king saith at noonday, It is night, you are to say, Behold the moon and the stars;" and I accordingly proceed to give a few instances of their way of speaking. A native will perhaps tell you that he has seen a wild boar as big as a bull buffalo, or a tiger with a tail as thick as an elephant's trunk, which, being interpreted, means simply that he has seen a large boar or a full-grown tiger. When a man tells me, on my return home, that the country has been enveloped in an impenetrable darkness during my absence, and that light has returned along with me, it is merely another way of saying that he is glad to see me back again. When a man observes that he has hidden himself in my stomach, he merely means that he has come to me for protection, and he means to infer the same when he says that he is sitting in my shade. This language of exaggeration and of compliment is naturally distasteful to Englishmen, and I think, on the whole, that from its frequent recurrence it goes a long way to prejudice our countrymen against the Indians.

Having thus fairly settled in the mind of the reader the current value of Asiatic phraseology, I may now turn his attention to the causes of so many lies being told to Englishmen in India. This for once being finally settled, and being provided against by Englishmen going to India, will do more to add to their comfort, and to aid them in managing any business they have to undertake, than anything I could possibly tell them. The cause, then, of so many lies being told is simply that the natives generally are afraid of us, and look upon us as some curious animals whose principles of

action it is impossible to discover, and whose ire may at any moment be unexpectedly aroused. In the old fable it is written, "That is not a council where there are no elders; those are not elders who declare not the law. That is not law in which truth is not; and there is no truth where fear prevails." Fear and uncertainty, then, are the principal reasons of so many lies being told to Englishmen; and, as a rule, it may confidently be said that the more violent the character of the Englishman is, the worse will be his opinion of Indians. To illustrate this connection between fear and lying I may mention the following incident. On my estate we employed a considerable quantity of labour, which comes from the interior of Mysore. These men come in gangs, which constantly shift from one estate to another. One Sunday I met three or four of these open-country coolies in the neighbourhood of my property. One of their number, a lad of about sixteen, had an estate spade in his hand. I asked him sharply where he got that from. "Oh!" he answered, "one of the local coolies lent it to me." Another of the party, who seemed to know me better, said, "Not at all; we borrowed it yesterday from your manager to do some work about our huts, and we have just been out digging for rats with it." The lad here simply lied from fright. It is a fact that I have very seldom found the natives on my estate lie to me; and my late manager, who did not leave Scotland till he was twenty-six, and who has been a factor and a farmer, and has had a great deal to do with the labouring classes, told me that the people in India told him no more lies than people of the same class at home. Whether this is the case or not I have no means of judging. The evidence of this

gentleman was certainly the best I think it would be possible to procure, and the only thing that I think could possibly have affected the result was the extraordinary influence he had over the Indians in general. But this assertion, after all, is only a confirmation of what I have previously stated, namely, that the better the character and tact of the Englishman, the better will his opinion be of the people he has to do with. The disturbing influence of fear will be withdrawn, and the natural bent of human nature, as shown in the ordinary affairs of life, will come out; and, as in these affairs lies are unnecessary and superfluous, a scarcity of lies will assuredly follow.

Another thing is, that Indians generally get very little encouragement to speak their minds, and the consequence is that they often speak, as most Europeans have discovered, merely to please the man they are addressing. If, when I went out shooting with my native neighbours, they thought I had missed an animal that I was confident I must have hit, an opinion adverse to mine would be stoutly maintained. But the Indians in general would never dream of maintaining their opinion against that of an Englishman, or, if they did, they would soon learn to suppress their sentiments for the future. I was once out shooting in the neighbourhood of my estate with a gentleman who had a couple of peons with him. Two bison were beaten out, my friend fired right and left, declared they were hit, and his attendants of course agreed with him. The bison broke back, and were with difficulty turned in the open by a plucky old farmer, who waved his blanket at them, and then drove them back into the jungle, which was again beaten, but this time without success.

When we were assembled after the beat, my friend observed that he had hit the bison at any rate. But the old man, who had had no experience of Englishmen beyond myself, observed that the balls must have struck the ground, for the bison had not a mark on them. My friend turned to me and said in English, "What on earth does that old fool mean by contradicting me?" Much to my amusement, the old man, thinking he had not been clearly understood, said, "They escaped without a wound." My friend now got really angry; the old farmer at last understood what the matter was, and no doubt came to the conclusion that all the Indians of experience have long ago arrived at, namely, to speak to please, or not at all.

We have now spoken of three kinds of lies—the lies of exaggeration, the lies of fear, and the lies which, based generally on fear, are told to please the person addressed. As I have shown, the lies of the first description, being not lies of deception, need be taken no account of; and as to the lies arising from the other two causes, the European may just have as little or as much as he chooses. For all time forward, then, I think it should be clearly understood that the supply of lies will be always exactly in proportion to the character of the individual European; that they will increase if his disposition is violent and unreasonable; and that they will fall to a minimum if his character is humane and reasonable.

These I believe to be undoubted facts, and they are the results of long and attentive observation. But the reader must not therefore understand that the people I have to do with on my plantations are at bottom as truthful as the working classes in Scotland, because the

proportion of lies you are told may not be greater. The lower classes in Scotland would not, I conceive, exhibit a greater or lesser amount of truth under various masters, and the reason of this is partly that they would not be influenced by fear, and partly because their moral sense has been raised by their religious and educational opportunities. Now, the moral sense as regards truth has not been developed amongst the natives on my property, nor amongst the natives in general, and therefore, having no solid ground to stand upon, they would always, under severe and capricious masters, lie without the smallest scruple. To this remark occasional exceptions may be found, but I have no doubt of its general truth as regards the Indian labourers of Munzerabad, or of any other district similarly situated.

As regards the difficult subject of comparative lying, I have given the only reliable evidence I have ever met with—I mean the evidence of a man thoroughly experienced as regards labour in Scotland and as regards labour in Munzerabad. To this I now think it desirable to add some opinions and evidence as to the proportion of truth existing amongst the English lower classes, and I do this in order that people going to India may be shown that "it is hard for empty sacks to stand upright," and that it is not advisable to go looking for pears on elm-trees in any quarter of the globe.

Mr. J. S. Mill has declared "that in Great Britain the higher classes, for the most part, speak truth, while the lower classes, almost without exception, have frequent recourse to falsehood." And in quoting him, the author of "The Recreations of a Country Parson," after recording an opinion somewhat to the contrary, adds, "Still I must sorrowfully admit that I have found in

many people a strong tendency, when they have done anything wrong, to justify themselves by falsehood." What value to attach to these opinions I can form no idea, but it seems to me that the person I am now going to quote ought to be as near the mark as we are likely to be able to go. The author of "Habits and Customs of the Working Classes" was himself really one of them; and though he seems to talk of lying as "framing plausible answers," and cheating as doing "corporation work," or works of their own, at a time when they have sold their time to their employer, we must not conceal from ourselves that lying and deception, in some form or other, seem to be common amongst the English working classes. At page 85 in his work we are initiated into the most important duty of an apprentice, which is called in the trade "keeping nix." His capacity for keeping guard and warning skulkers, readers, smokers, or "corporation workers," seems to be the highest test of merit, and it is not pleasant to read that a neglect of this duty will result in "a stout stick and his back probably being made acquainted." But examine human nature where you will, and it is difficult to escape from the conclusion that wherever lying and deceiving are found to answer, the tone of opinion will easily accommodate itself to the requirements of the moment, till cheating and lying, where cheating and lying pay, will come to be regarded as venial offences. And that this fact is unfortunately too true we have ample evidence in this country, when we come to glance at the proofs of adulteration of almost every article, and the numbers of convictions for false weights and measures. In short, to be an English shopkeeper is tantamount to saying that you must both lie

and cheat directly or indirectly; and so universal is this melancholy necessity, that a clergyman once told me that a conscientious hairdresser's apprentice had consulted him as to what he should do when he was called upon to sell preparations for the growth of the hair which he well knew would have little effect.

It is with real pleasure that I quit this vague, uncongenial, and unsatisfactory subject, to offer my experience as to the general honesty of my native neighbours, or, in other words, of the farmers of the villages round about my house. Whatever variation in truth there might be amongst the people in general, there was none here. "Well, Râma," I would say to a farmer who came to speak to me, "what do you want?" "I want twenty rupees. A bullock of mine has just died, and I must buy another. I'll pay you back after harvest." In this way, and for marriages and different purposes, I repeatedly lent money (nearly always without a receipt, excepting where the sum was large), from ten shillings to £20 and £30. And not only did I never lose a farthing by doing so, but I cannot remember their ever failing to keep their word as to the time of payment.* In fact, it was a pleasure to have to do with them in any matter of business; and in selling anything to them, or in buying grain from them, I cannot remember a single instance of any difference or dissatisfaction between us. If I opened my money-bags to them, they were equally free with me. When a new arrival in our district came to my house, he was astonished to see a farmer walk into the room, money-bag in hand, put perhaps £10

* The oldest planter in Mysore, who had lived amongst these people for fifteen years before I entered India, told me he had often lent money in the same way, and had never been a loser by the transactions.

on the table, and walk off. As I explained in a previous part of this chapter, the treasury sometimes ran dry, or some unexpected demand for money would arise, and I had occasion often to borrow money for ten or fifteen days. I have great pleasure, too, in bearing testimony to their general sense of fairness, and I am always willing to have any dispute between myself and my native neighbours settled by an Indian punchayet, or court of arbitration—my opponents to choose two farmers, myself two, and these four a fifth, and the majority to decide. When my cattle and the cattle of my servants and native overseers have trespassed on a farmer's field, I have simply sent a jury to assess the damages, and then levied them on myself and my people. When, for instance, the cart-men who take our coffee to the coast fail to deliver the exact quantity delivered to them, the result is that the merchant at the coast deducts the value from the balance of hire due. The men, perhaps, return and declare they can't account for the loss, and that there must have been some mistake. In that case the remedy is to offer to appeal to a punchayet, and my manager in India has standing orders to settle all disputes by means of a punchayet. And to this institution every native is willing to appeal who has got a fair case, and nothing is more common than to hear a man conclude an account of his grievances by saying that he will stand by the decision of a jury. I once referred a dispute about some coffee to a jury, which decided in my favour. Being willing to please the cart-men, I then said that I would toss up whether I should pay half the loss they had sustained, or nothing at all. With imperturbable gravity the foreman tossed up seven times. I won, and my opponents, though they got nothing, went away

well satisfied. I shall have more to say about this institution of punchayets in another part of this work, but I think it here quite worth while to urge upon any man who is settled amongst the rural populations that he had far better prefer a settlement of disputes by a jury to referring his disputes to the courts.

The general impression arising from all my dealings and all my intercourse with the farmers in the neighbourhood was, that they were a very honest and trustworthy set of people. Some amongst them there were, of course, that I would not have trusted as far as I could throw an elephant by the tail; but, with these exceptions, the general result was as I state it. Of this farmer class I have employed a few of the poorer on my estate as labourers, and of these several were promoted to be overseers; and in that capacity I have found them extremely intelligent, honest, and industrious, and thoroughly to be depended on in every way.

I may here remark that, judging from the accounts I have often read, and from the remarks I have often heard made, people seem to be under the impression that natives have little or no appreciation for moral worth and general honesty and goodness of character. But I can assure the reader that this is quite a delusion, and, as a case in point, I may mention the following incident. I once went to see a poor todyman, a tenant of mine, who was supposed to be dying, and I could not help being struck with the fact that, though of the lowest caste but one in the country, there were people of every caste present, who had come either to inquire after, or to see whether they could do anything for him. Though his house was in an isolated part of the jungle, there also was the mother of the village head man, who was

of the Lingayet caste (people who neither eat meat nor drink tody). I asked why it was that this poor man should receive such marks of attention and respect, and the answer simply was, that he was a good man who had never harmed any one. The fact is that an honest, truthful man is just as much respected by his neighbours as he would be in any part of the world.

Having thus glanced at the character of the people about me as regards their gratitude, the veracity of the labourers on my plantation, and the general honesty and veracity of the farmers amongst whom I lived, I shall now proceed to take some notice of the way they take dying in general, including hanging; and, after having done with that, I shall proceed to say something as to the way my native neighbours treat their wives and children, and as to their general manners in various other particulars.

When I first settled amongst my native neighbours I brought with me a certain troublesome principle called sympathy, which induced me to relieve the sufferings of others whenever I could. As medicines for fever and dysentery were unknown, I had ample opportunities of indulging the sympathies aforesaid, which were no doubt aided insensibly by the love of exhibiting one's power over the symptoms of disease. Naturally and beneficially these sympathies gradually disappeared, partly from over-use, partly, no doubt, from insensibly catching the principles of my native friends, till at last I could look upon suffering and dying people with an almost complete indifference. By that time, however, the operation of a beautiful law of nature came in; the habit of relieving the sick became confirmed, and operated more comfortably, more powerfully, and

far more regularly than the original principle with which I started. The result of all this was, that, it being impossible to resist the force of habit, I gradually became a sort of physician-general. When they were sick, the farmers round about came to me, and when they could not, I went to them; and thus it was that I came to have a very intimate acquaintance with the circumstances I am now going to talk of.

Taking an outside view of the matter, the first thing that strikes an Englishman is the apparently heartless indifference with which the probable result of illness is talked of in the presence of the sick person. "Do you think he will live or die?" would be asked me quite coolly, and quite within the hearing of the sick man. When last I went to India, in 1867, I went to see the wife of a tenant of mine. She was in much pain, and, with the view of lessening it, I advised a change in her position. This caused her to cry out, upon which her husband said, "Don't call out—you'll die soon." This seemed certainly a very matter-of-fact way of taking things, and the inference therefrom would naturally be unfavourable. But nothing, after all, is more deceptive than the argument from outward signs, and, in proof of that statement, I think I can point out an illustration not very far remote from our times, nor very far remote from the spot I am now writing these Indian reminiscences. Dean Ramsay, in his admirable "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character," in reference to the way the older generation of Scottish people took death and its surroundings, tells a very similar tale. "In connection," he says, "with the awful subject of death and all its concomitants, it has often been remarked that the older generation of Scottish people used to view the circumstances

belonging to the decease of their nearest and dearest friends with a coolness which does not, at first sight, seem consistent with their deep and sincere religious impressions. Amongst the peasantry this was sometimes manifested in an extraordinary and startling manner. I do not believe that these persons had less affection for their friends than a corresponding class in England, but they had less awe of the concomitants of death, and approached them with more familiarity. For example, I remember, long ago at Fasque, my sister-in-law visiting a worthy and attached old couple, of whom the husband, Charles Duncan, who had been gardener at Fasque for above thirty years, was evidently dying. He was sitting on a common deal chair, and on my sister proposing to send down for his use an old arm-chair which she recollected was laid up in a garret, his wife exclaimed against such a needless trouble. 'Hout, my lady! what would he be duin' wi' an arm-chair? He's just deein' fast awa'.'"

And if the reader chooses to read on, he will find a quaint matter-of-factism, as regards these matters of death and the life beyond, which might lead him to very unpleasant inferences.* But these things, being explained away, diminish the mass of illusion which it is our destiny to wade through, if we choose to examine minutely the affairs of life.

Continuing my observations on death, I now come to a hanging which I went to, partly as the hanging took place from my house, and partly as I was fond of observing native life from every point of view.

It was on a fine day in October that I set out with

* And similarly it was with my native neighbours, but by many a sign I knew and saw that they often felt deaths as acutely as we do.

the English magistrate of the district, and a brother planter, for the place of execution, which was distant about three miles from my plantation. We found, on our arrival, a considerable crowd collected, amounting, I should say, to about five hundred people, all of whom were boys or men. The place of execution was the summit of a piece of sloping, open grass land, which commanded a tolerable view of the surrounding country. Dotted here and there about the crown of the slope were a few moderate-sized trees, and from a projecting bough of one of these swung a cotton rope, immediately below which was a rude bench about six feet high, with a smaller one below it, by means of which the prisoner was to step to the larger bench above, which was to be suddenly withdrawn when the cord was adjusted. The scene was extremely striking. On one side were ranged the silent crowd, around the tree of execution were posted a few native horse in their gay uniforms, and on the side nearest to the crowd, and within a few yards of the fatal noose, sat the prisoner, calm and collected, though by no means indifferent to the fate that awaited him. A hundred yards below, you could see through the date bushes the freshly-turned mould of the grave in which his remains were to be interred. When we reached the ground, the village blacksmith was engaged in removing the prisoner's fetters: the operation took some time, and the clink of the hammer sounded strangely loud and clear in the fine rarefied atmosphere of the elevated ground on which we stood. While the fetters were being removed, the prisoner, who was surrounded by his relatives, handed betel to them occasionally, and chewed some himself now and then. Several papers relating to his property were handed

to him, and he signed them with unshaken composure. At this time I was within two yards of the prisoner, and, though I watched his demeanour very attentively, could detect no sign of either remorse or bravado in his manner or countenance. When, however, he stood up and looked around on the crowd, a slight quiver of the lip, a sign of emotion which can hardly be suppressed, though the eye be unmoved and the cheek unblenched, showed clearly that the man's mind was not deadened by apathy, but animated with that fortitude with which the Asiatic generally meets the decrees of fate. He remained standing but a few seconds, and then, having covered himself from head to foot with a thin cotton cloth, immediately sat down with his back towards us. "He is going to say his prayers," said my brother planter. "He is going to eat his breakfast," I rejoined, as I observed a brass lotah full of milk handed under the cloth. There was something horribly ludicrous in the whole scene. Here was a man on the verge of another world, composedly breakfasting as it were on the very scaffold itself. Imagine, reader, the expectant crowd; the native officials, civil and military; the now somewhat impatient magistrate; the fatal tree with its dangling noose; the newly-opened grave; and then imagine the man for whom all these preparations had been made, deliberately eating away, and occasionally washing down his repast with a draught of milk. It was now getting late, and we had been standing all this time under the fierce tropical sun. I thought it the longest meal I had ever attended, but at last it came to an end. The prisoner was then asked if he had anything to say; but, in answer to this, he merely begged that his family might be looked after. He then took leave of his wife and

female relations without a sign of emotion. As he was moving towards the scaffold, or what answered as such, he was told to take off his turban, and, as he did so, and threw it down, a slight gleam of contempt shot across his swarthy features. He then ascended the scaffold, where he was again asked if he had anything to say. The prisoner replied, "Call Marnty Gouda." Marnty Gouda, the head man of the prisoner's village, came forward, and accompanying his observation with a respectful salutation, the prisoner said, "Give me leave, I am going." His hands and feet were then tied, and a white cotton bag tied over his head. Then came a scene which filled every one with horror and disgust. The rope was found to be too short; it was ordered to be lengthened; and, in the confusion that ensued, the policemen who were supporting the prisoner both commenced to fumble at the rope. The bench was not eighteen inches wide, and the consequence was that in a second the prisoner lost his balance, and fell with stunning force on his face. He uttered no cry, but groaned heavily two or three times. As they raised him, apparently half insensible, I shall never forget the impression made upon me by the sight of the sinking limbs, and the blood which, streaming down his face, stained crimson the white cotton cloth with which his head was enveloped. The rope had now been lengthened, the unhappy man was half lifted, half supported on to the bench, and he died without a struggle. I turned immediately to scan the countenances of the people, in order to gather, if possible, the impression the scene had made on them; and, as I looked at man after man, and expression after expression, I felt convinced that these, at any rate, were not the apathetic Asiatics I had

read of, and that, on the whole, they felt much as I did.

On the way home I went chatting along with my native neighbours. I asked one what he thought of hanging a man for murder. He briefly replied in a saying of four words, which, being interpreted, means, "It shall be done to a man as he hath done: death to the murderer." I asked another if it was not a remarkable thing that the prisoner had showed no signs of fear. "Would the Government have released him if he had been afraid?" was the answer. I said, "Certainly not." "Then," said my practical friend, "what would have been the use of his being afraid?" Another man said that it was a good thing that he was hung, as there was no knowing who he might have murdered next.

I do not know what change the ideas of my native neighbours may since have undergone, but when I first settled among them they seemed to have some curious notions as to the way we would probably regard murders, and of the reward murderers ought to meet with. On one occasion a coolie in one of the villages contiguous to my property murdered the village carpenter. The murder happened in this way:—On the day previous a brother of the coolie in question was herding some cattle, which, owing to his negligent look-out, trespassed on the carpenter's field. The carpenter accordingly thrashed the negligent cowherd, who told his brother, and who, the day after, struck the carpenter on the head with a stake, and, as he was falling to the ground, stove in two ribs with the same instrument. Now, the murderer was the hereditary serf of the principal farmer in the village, who accordingly came to me and narrated the circumstances. He certainly seemed to think that the worst

use you could put a man to was hanging him, and he proposed that the difficulty should be got over by my begging the magistrate to let him off: "And," said the worthy farmer, "I'll give him to you, and he can work for you till he dies." How they managed the matter I don't exactly know, but the murderer got a year's imprisonment, and certainly seemed none the worse for it. The fact was that such cases had then to go for trial to the head-quarters of the division, which were about eighty miles off, and the result was that it was extremely difficult to obtain a conviction for murder.

In those days, too, one's native overseers had rather curious ideas of the way of doing one a service. On one occasion, after an absence of two days from home, I found that there were warrants out to apprehend two of my coolies for rioting in the weekly market, which was held three miles from my house. The native I had left in charge looked upon his share of the transaction with considerable satisfaction. Some coolies, he said, had gone to the market, and had engaged in a *mêlée* with some tody-sellers. The coolies, finding they were getting the worst of it, sent to the plantation for assistance. "And what did you do then?" I asked my native overseer. "Oh!" he said with a triumphant air, "I at once sent off all the people who were at work, armed with clubs; they drove the opposite party out of the market, and all the shops were shut."

Turning now to the way they treat their wives and children, I shall have something to say that is doubtful, but a good deal that is pleasant both to witness and to tell. Let us look at the doubtful first. Said a farmer to me one day, "What do you do with your wives in your country when they scold, and you can't get them

to hold their tongues? Do you take a stick to them as people here are sometimes obliged to do? The tongue of a troublesome woman," he truly added, "is as persistent as the falling of a waterfall." And I dare say that it is not impossible that a virago may have come in for a thrashing now and then, though amongst my farming friends I never heard of an instance of it. With the lower classes, though, I have heard of occasional examples of wife-beating—a practice which seems not to be altogether unknown in civilised countries. But the women of our coolies require, I imagine, at least the dread of a thrashing to keep them in order. During my absence from home, my late manager, who was a very tender-hearted man, had warmly espoused the cause of some coolie woman who had either been thrashed, or, at least, alleged she had been. The news of his woman-supporting tendencies had evidently spread; the consequence was, that on my return home I found that nearly every woman on the estate had risen against her husband; and I found, ranged in front of my manager, a whole row of complainants and defendants, the women complaining of their husbands, and the husbands asserting that their wives, without leave asked, had been absenting themselves from home, and resorting to the tody-shops. To the horror of my manager, I at once said, "You don't understand these people at all;" and, addressing the coolies in general, I said, "Let every man on this estate take his wife and thrash her whenever she does wrong." This at once settled the question, order was restored, and things went on peaceably for the future.*

* This may seem to be a curious way of getting rid of a difficulty, but the women well knew that I would firmly support them if they had any well-founded grounds of complaint.

To revert to the women of the farming classes, whatever my friend may have hinted about the sticks, I am sure that their wives were, on the whole, treated extremely well. They had no hard work to do of any sort, except assisting at the rice-planting season and at harvest, all the ploughing and hard work of every description being done by the men. Then, as to the subordinate position they are supposed to hold, I am satisfied that that is equally a delusion. A Hindoo widow of sense and discretion is respected and attended to by her grown-up sons as much and, I imagine, even more than a widow would be in most parts of the world.* The ladies of England will be glad to learn that feminine influence exercises often a happy effect amongst these people, and two of the best native families in my neighbourhood were entirely brought up by widows. They were both of them, and one in particular, sharp, clear-headed women, and the influence they had with their family would have satisfied the most exacting in any country. In many respects Hindoo women are quite as well off, and in some better off than Englishwomen. A Hindoo widow not only succeeds to a share of the husband's property, but property that may have become hers

* In some recent works we find certain Hindoo texts quoted by English writers as evidence of the subjection of women. But what is often taken as evidence of one class of facts is, I am persuaded, nothing really but evidence of what man, indulging at once his imagination and his literary propensities, has written and handed down; and this written law is certainly evidence of what some one has written, but to quote it as a proof of anything else is a delusion. "Is it not the practice of women of immaculate chastity to eat after their husbands have eaten, to sleep only after they have slept, and to rise from sleep before them?" And again, is it not written, "Let a wife who wishes to perform sacred ablutions wash the feet of her lord and drink the water?" All this reminds me very much of our marriage ceremony, which certainly reads uncommonly well, but I do not think, from my own observation, that it could well be quoted as evidence of that implicit obedience which the British matron usually pays to her husband. In the same way, laws concocted by Brahmins are quoted as evidence of what really occurred, instead of as evidence of what the priestly classes would like to have enforced.

before marriage, as well as gifts bestowed on her at the time of the marriage, are retained for her separate use, though property acquired afterwards belongs to the family. Hindoo women can even succeed to an official position (as in England a woman may become a church-warden), and the potail of a village in my neighbourhood is a widow who holds it till her son grows up. In the Rig Veda there are many expressions of tenderness, which show that their women and homes were highly prized.

The way in which children are treated by these people is certainly the most amiable feature in their character. Nor does this treatment extend merely to their own children. If you see a well-dressed, well-fed, spoilt farmer boy, you may be sure that he is an orphan. Our practice of shutting up or cutting short boys who may wish to express their opinions is entirely unknown; and nothing has often amused me so much as to find a boy offering opinions and attempting to give directions to a whole party of men. The men, of course, pay no attention to them, and the only notice perceptible would be, perhaps, an amused smile. But on this feature in the character of the people I need not detain the reader any longer, as the severest maligners of the Indians generally admit that, in this respect, they can set any people in the world an example.

The political opinions of my native neighbours need not occupy much space. In fact, the narration of them need take up little more room than was occupied by a Norwegian naturalist in enumerating and describing the snakes in that country, the heading of snakes being simply followed by the remark, "There are no snakes in Norway." Being desirous, however, of ascertaining

the sentiments of people on public matters, I once asked an old farmer what he thought of the question as to whether the Rajah of Mysore should be allowed to adopt an heir to succeed him, or the country be taken over as Queen's territory on his death. "Phoo!" said the old man, "Rajah here, Queen there; whoever comes we must grind corn." Another man said, "What can it matter as long as we are let alone?" These, then, are their political sentiments, and I fancy their existence, or rather non-existence, in most parts of India would be expressed in very similar language.

I now have something to say as regards general manners and a few other points concerning my native neighbours which can be brought under no particular classification.

Just as you never know an Englishman thoroughly unless you get him on board ship, or till you have thawed him five hundred miles south of Paris, so do you never know what a native is whom you only see when he pays you a visit. Visits are always considered somewhat ceremonial, even by these hill-farmers, and if you only saw them then you would imagine them to be a grave and serious people, somewhat dignified, and altogether immovable. To exhibit any particular emotion, to speak in a hurry, to give vent to their thoughts with any degree of freedom, would be considered bad taste; and, in short, to make themselves as stupid as possible seems as much a matter of importance as it is in the most freezing society in England. Nor, with some rare exceptions, will any degree of familiarity in the sporting-field break through this habit. A friend of mine, of impatient and enthusiastic temperament, once came out from Bangalore for a few weeks'

shooting, and his fretting at this custom often afforded me considerable amusement. On one occasion I recollect seeing a farmer—a real good sportsman—running down a hill near my house in a style which told me that he must at least have news of a tiger. I communicated the probabilities to my friend, who was all on fire to hear the news. When, however, my native friend got within a hundred yards of my house, he stopped to take breath. When he had composed himself to his satisfaction he came to the doorway, and looked in with the air of a man who had simply come about nothing in particular. After we had talked for a little, my friend, who knew no Canarese, broke in with, "What's the news? Is it a tiger?" But I told him that we had not nearly come to that yet, and that I had been inquiring after the farmer's family, and talking of the state of the weather and other matters. Affairs had now progressed sufficiently, and the farmer said, "By the way, a tiger killed a couple of bullocks near our village this morning." "Did he indeed?" I replied, with becoming indifference. "I suppose that it would be as well to go and see if we can find him." "Yes," replied my friend, "perhaps it would; and now I think of it, the people are already assembled, and are only waiting for you." Out shooting, though, this manner is entirely thrown aside, and laughing, chatting, and joking is all the rule when going to and returning from cover, or where there is no necessity for silence. There is something in the fellowship and pleasure of sport that shakes people up, and makes even the most reticent and reserved throw aside their usual caution, and change for the moment a taciturn for a communicative disposition. Then, when you get individuals entirely alone, holding your second

gun, or showing you the way to some post at which the game is likely to break cover, you will learn more of the ins and outs and of the ways and doings of your native neighbours than you would in months and years spent in the ordinary routine of every-day life. Many a curious bit of native life has thus been communicated to me, and often have I surprised the farmers about with my knowledge of things they thought I would have little chance of hearing; and, as I made it a rule never to tell the name of the individual from whom I might happen to hear these odds and ends, my knowledge seemed all the more extraordinary. On this point of never disclosing the name of an informant, even on the most trifling matters, I shall have more to say in my chapter on the management of natives in general.

Another peculiarity in the manners of my native neighbours was their habit of never urging their own cause, stating their own case, or preferring their own complaints in person, or, I should rather say, without the intervention of a friend. A farmer who had any particular case or grievance to relate to me, invariably brought with him some one who stated the case, while his principal looked on with apparent unconcern, and seemed to take no part in the matter at all. The result of this system was, that a general principle of what we would call interference was universally established, and for a man to offer an opinion on what might seem to be no affair of his, would not be thought at all extraordinary. From not understanding this system, Englishmen are generally rather surprised at first, and not unfrequently inclined to be angry. I shall never forget the astonishment of a young manager who had lately arrived in India, when, after my native clerk reading

out in Canarese a letter I was writing, or rather had caused to be written, a todyman, or farmer, who happened to be present, struck in with "That's all wrong; you must not write like that." My manager, who was not yet up in the language, wanted to know what he had to do with the matter, and was very much surprised to learn that he had no more to do with it than the man in the moon. As he very justly remarked, "Fancy a clerk reading out a letter which he had been ordered to write by a merchant, and some man, who had come in on chance, stopping the clerk aforesaid, and telling him that he had better have written the letter in some other way." My native interferer, however, gave his reasons, and these were so much to the point, that I ordered an alteration to be made in the letter. To us this may seem, at first sight, a very inconvenient habit, but I very soon came to find it precisely the reverse; and, as any man who came to see me turned on somebody to talk for him, I found it equally convenient to turn on some bystander to talk for me, and in this way I have found that things are often far more fairly and impartially discussed, not to mention the trouble you are saved by the process. In matters of this sort I recommend Englishmen invariably to fall into the native way of doing things, as it is far easier to adapt yourself to them than to get them to adapt themselves to you.

I am now going to say something on a point that I hardly think I should have noticed, or which I easily might have overlooked, had my attention not been called to it by some remarks in Shore's "Notes on Indian Affairs." I mean the memory of my native neighbours. Whenever I had occasion to mention the subject in conversation, I have often remarked on the accuracy displayed

by natives as regards remembering anything that it was of importance to them to bear in mind, or, in short, recollecting any circumstance or particular which attracted their curiosity or attention. Now, Shore has come to an exactly contrary conclusion, and Elphinstone remarks equally on the deficiencies of memory amongst the Indians. The former, in remarking the inaccuracy of native memory, says that "certain prominent facts usually remain well impressed on their minds, but in details their want of observation or of recollection is very remarkable;" and, in corroboration of this opinion, he gives the illustrations which an Indian judge must so constantly meet with. He tells us that it is hardly possible to find a man who knows his own age, that events are often described as having occurred yesterday that really happened a year or two ago, and that to an occurrence of a considerable time past they will apply a term, the most literal translation of which is "yesterday, a long way off." Now all this, I grant, may prove that a man does not remember what he is not likely to have any occasion to call to mind, and that, as regards events in general, he is in the habit of indulging in inaccuracy of expression, but defects of memory are not proved thereby. I have frequently observed the same inaccuracies, and, had I been merely a judge, it is possible that I might have accounted for them by considering that in these people there was only another inherent defect to add to the number of special shortcomings which are supposed to make up what we call the Asiatic character. But having had occasion to put them to the test in this as in many other respects, I have come to the conclusion that few are blessed with as accurate memories as my native neighbours. And, as instances of what I mean by accuracy of memory, I

may mention the following cases out of many which came within my own observation.

In the first case I have to mention, a native overseer of mine, who could neither read nor write, used to keep a check-roll of from thirty to forty men, and, I have every reason to believe, with perfect accuracy. The names were written down by me, and opposite each name were spaces to mark present and absent for the number of days which made up the month. In order to test him, I used to write out the names at the beginning of the month, call them out to him, and ask him to pick out this or that name, taking them at random—a thing he hardly ever failed to do, even at his first lesson. He simply remembered the order they were called out in, and thus kept the account by simply marking 1 for present, and 0 for absent; and, in paying the accounts, I don't remember having had one disputed.

Another overseer on my estate would be sent to the open country to collect labour amongst villages some thirty or forty miles away. To each man he would give an advance, sometimes 2*s.*, sometimes 2*s.* 6*d.*, sometimes 3*s.*, and so on, in various amounts up to 8*s.* or 10*s.* On his return, with perhaps eighty or one hundred people, he would stand in front of my desk, give me the name of each man, the name of his father (for particular identification), and the amount of advance, and all of this with perfect accuracy.

A third instance I cannot resist mentioning. A contractor, who could neither read nor write, sawed timber into all sorts of shapes, at the rate of forty-eight feet the surface foot, he built mud walls for me at a certain rate of measurement, and he dug an immense quantity of ditch round my estate by the cubic foot. He carried

on all these works at the same time, and he kept all the accounts in his head, including, of course, those of the men he employed. The timber accounts were the most difficult, as one tree would be sawn into rafters, another into planks, a third into reapers, and so on. I kept the account of each tree, and, when we came to close accounts, there was very little difference between us. The worry and trouble of all these mental accounts, coupled, I suppose, with anxiety as to whether his undertakings would pay, drove the unfortunate man half crazy, and one of my people told me that the contractor thought of nothing but his accounts day and night; and no wonder.

As an instance both of curiosity and of memory, I may add one instance more, which was certainly more remarkable than any of the foregoing. For many years I had no European on my estate, and the only man who could speak English was my native clerk. Under these circumstances, you would think it very difficult for any of the people about me to pick up any English; and accordingly, when one day I made a remark in English to my clerk, whom I imagined to be behind me, I was certainly a good deal surprised to hear a native chime in in Canarese. I said, "This is very good land," and the native said, in Canarese, "Yes, this is the best land you have got." I was struck with what I then thought was merely a coincidence, but my clerk told me that the native in question used to pick up whole sentences of English by ear, and bring them to him for translation. The native in question was a poor farmer's son who worked on the plantation, but who, being of the better classes, was always taken out shooting, and kept a good deal about with me. When

I had a friend out shooting, he used to listen attentively to what we said, and take home whole sentences for translation.

Amongst the numerous opinions I have read on natives and their characteristics, I have met with frequent appreciation of the courage shown by Indians of almost all races, excepting the effeminate Bengalese, who seem to have been credited only with that passive quality which some people call fortitude, and others an apathetic submission to the inevitable. My native neighbours, as far as my experience went, showed certainly no want of active courage, and many of them had courage of the coolest and truest type. This was especially evinced out shooting, and could be supported by numerous instances that came within my own observation. There were, of course, occasional cowards, as there are everywhere, but, as a rule, the people rather erred on the side of boldness. The boys, or rather lads of sixteen or seventeen, who were not aware of the danger, were generally the boldest; those of middle age were most cautious; and, almost as rash as the youngest, came the old men. In fact, you might make sure that if the people were led into an unnecessarily dangerous situation, some old man was certain to be at the head of them. I imagine this arises from some weakness being developed in the systems of old men, which makes them desirous of showing off. But, however this may be, these old men were often excessively troublesome, especially in leading the way into, perhaps, a thick jungly ravine on the tracks of a wounded tiger. As an instance of courage, and of a sense of honour, I may mention the following incident. I was out shooting one evening on the side of a mountain which was close

to a house, from which the people could see what was going on. I took only one man, who had accompanied me for years out shooting, and only one gun, as we hardly expected to see anything, except perhaps a deer or bear. We had not, however, gone very far before we saw a bear making his way along the mountain-side, about two hundred yards above us. Being desirous of backing out of sight before stalking him, we retreated into the nearest jungly ravine, which was only a few yards behind us. I went backwards into the jungle, and, to our intense amusement, fell on my back down a drop of at least five feet, which, from being covered with underwood, I had not noticed. Rallying from this partial discomfiture, I then went after the bear, following him up nearly in his tracks. I wanted my man to take time, as my wind was not good, but he would look up. Bruin having sighted him, I was obliged to fire, quite out of breath, and at a distance of about fifty yards. The ball struck him, we thought. He first of all turned to climb up the mountain, but, changing his mind, charged right back at us. I fired my remaining shot too soon; and, as he was still coming on, I observed that as there was nothing in the gun, we had better scatter. Rama Gouda looked round, but seeing that the people from the house below had been attracted out by the shot, he ran in between me and the bear with my walking-stick, and held it up at Bruin as if the stick was a spear. Whether this had an effect on the bear it is impossible to say, but we were a few yards off the back tracks, and he simply passed us within a yard or two, and retreated along the very path he had been traversing. But, whatever might have been the intentions of the bear, this did not lessen the pluck of a

Vincent Brooks Day & Son Lith

MUNZERABAD TODY DRAWERS

man running in with a stick between me and what had every appearance of turning out to be an awkward dilemma.

In my first chapter I had occasion to notice the courage so often displayed by the beaters—a kind of courage so seldom done justice to by the well-armed European who is posted outside the jungle; and I may here mention one of the many instances of this that I have met with. On one occasion, when we followed up a wounded tiger the day after he had mauled one of my people, the tiger charged the beaters, and the man attacked by the tiger threw his blanket into the tiger's mouth, and saved himself by jumping on one side. The beaters then fled out of the jungle in a panic; but, notwithstanding this, they, being armed with nothing but clubs and knives, and perhaps an occasional spear, went into the jungle in a body, and drove out the tiger, which was forthwith shot.

A gentleman who, at the time I last saw him, had shot upwards of fifty tigers on foot, and who, no doubt, has shot many more since, told me that he had never once been deserted by his gun-bearers or people. He was a splendid shot, of course, and of the finest courage. I have sometimes heard the natives complained of as being wanting in courage on these occasions, and such instances must, no doubt, have sometimes happened; but, as a rule, where the servant scatters, it may be pretty certainly concluded that his master is either of doubtful nerve or a very bad shot.

It has often been observed that our Indian rulers might make themselves the most popular in the world, if they would only spend an infinitesimal portion of the revenue in fireworks and ram-fights; and, from my

own experience in laying out trifling sums to contribute to the gratification of my native neighbours, I feel very well convinced that, if we do not neglect our duty, we at least affect our interests, by failing to indulge the people in those particulars which produce such astonishing results, and which would go so far to endear the rulers in the eyes of the ruled. Nor is it any answer to say that these things are trifling and childish. Considered in the "aibstract," as our Scotch people would say, they may, no doubt, be so; but our business is, or at least ought to be, to rule well, and to be loved well. The former, I am of opinion, ought always in India to include the latter; and, if that is admitted, it is plain we do not rule well when we neglect our fireworks. In truth, I had no idea of the effect of fireworks till I gave a Christmas dinner once to my brother planters, and till my butler persuaded me, in honour of the occasion, to lay out ten shillings in fireworks, which were to be let off at the close of the entertainment. I suppose my butler must have apprised the neighbouring farmers of what was going to take place, for, to my astonishment, they assembled in considerable numbers, and enjoyed the ten shillings' worth of fireworks to their hearts' content. The fireworks, I must say, were of themselves poor affairs; but what they wanted in brilliancy they made up in smoke, which soon filled the verandah, and penetrated into the dining-room in such volumes, that I was insensibly reminded of what must often have occurred when three-deckers were engaged at close quarters in the days of Nelson. But, if such a sensation was produced in the minds of the Indians for ten shillings, the reader can only be left to imagine the result produced by my once hiring a

whole troupe of theatrico-gymnastic performers who once turned up in our part of the country. This troupe undertook (and, to do them justice, they amply fulfilled their engagement) to go through the whole of their performances for two pounds, and for this sum they provided amusement for at least a thousand persons, from nine in the morning till about four in the afternoon. I had the spectators seated in my verandah counted, and they amounted to three hundred and fifty, while there were great numbers behind the performers, and many, to get a better view, climbed up and hung about amongst the branches of the trees near my house. Such a return for a couple of pounds I never had before, and don't suppose I shall ever have again. The satisfaction of the people was boundless, and I confess I was not a little pleased at thinking I had made so many people happy for nearly a whole day. The performers commenced with gymnastics; they then took to clothing themselves with the skins of animals, and made themselves into bears, monkeys, and tigers. Thirdly, they fell upon the whole Hindoo mythology, which they proceeded to personify and take off from one end to the other. But nothing delighted the audience so much as the ridicule thrown on the holiest of holy men—the Brahminical ascetic, whose whole business ought to have been to mortify every passion, and inflict every possible hardship on his earthly lodging. The ascetic is introduced in the purest and most self-denying form; but he eventually extends his affections, and finally falls a victim to the allurements of a charming young Hindoo lady, who has made it her endeavour to seduce the holy man. Then there were little special pieces, taking off incidents in every-day life, the chaffering and bargaining

in the market, and the competition between one merchant and another. Then a peon (a policeman) insists upon being shaved for nothing by the village barber, who reluctantly consents, and ultimately, to the delight of the audience, revenges himself by shaving the peon as awkwardly as possible, and thrusting the handle of the razor into his mouth. But I need not weary the reader with further details of the numerous and varying scenes with which this vagrant troupe delighted my native neighbours the livelong day, for enough has now been said to show how easily and cheaply a man may gratify the natives about him; and I think that I need not waste further words in urging the advisability (for his own interests, if for no other) of an Indian settler laying out a few rupees in these innocent amusements. I may mention that I sent out to my estates a magic lantern, which has added not a little to the gratification of the neighbouring farmers. These little things are trifles; but it is just a number of such trifles as these which make the difference between popularity and indifference, and I therefore make no apology for alluding to them. Another, and I think the very cheapest way of making yourself agreeable, is, if you happen to be present at a feast, to lay out a few rupees in areca-nuts, pepper leaves, and lime, a conjunction of which, being put into the mouth, enables a man to chew betel, which seems to be the most usual and popular form of narcotic indulgence. Where farmers come up to speak to you, to hear the news, to tell you what game has been heard of, or shot near their village, a chew of betel will send them away, at once pleased and gratified with your attention.

While thus indicating a few of the adjuncts which

help to make a man popular with his neighbours, it must not be supposed that popularity can thus be so easily and cheaply purchased. Your fireworks, and theatricals, and magic lantern will help, no doubt; but if these are all you have to depend on, they will not go very far. It is the every-day manner and every-day greeting that mainly tell in the long run; and it is with a true knowledge of human nature that Addison makes Sir Roger de Coverley say good day to every one he passes, and that he attributes the good knight's popularity to that habit more than to anything else. To make yourself popular with your native neighbours, it is not at all necessary to throw your money about in the way Englishmen are so fond of doing. On the contrary, I can imagine no way more likely to produce a degrading effect on the neighbouring farmers. To the people who went out shooting with me I don't think I ever gave a shilling, except once, and then I gave a rupee, to make up a tiger reward to a round sum of thirty-six rupees, which was to be divided amongst the twelve men who constituted the entire party. On wet days in the monsoon I have often given brandy, arrack, and cigars, and at other times, and to occasional individuals, a little gunpowder; but I never followed the English vice of scattering money about in all directions, and from my own experience I would decidedly advise gifts in any other conceivable shape. But, as I have hinted before, it is the kindly tone and manner, the inquiry as to a man's family, the trifling dose of fever medicine to a sick child, and the careful return of salaams, that form the base of cordiality with the natives, as they do with people all over the world.

Concerning the hospitality of my neighbours I have little to say, except that the people in that respect were very much the same as people in this country. I knew the character of the farmers off by heart: some were moderately hospitable, others excessively so, and others were screws and misers.

As to the subject of gambling, I may imitate the gentleman who drew up the Annual Report for Mysore for 1860-61, and who, under a tremendous heading of "Marine," simply wrote, "There are no navigable rivers in Mysore, nor has the province any seaboard."

The missionaries in Mysore have collected a great number of Canarese sayings and proverbs, but the farmers in my neigbourhood seldom made use of proverbs; and there is only one saying that I at all remember to have been in frequent use, and it had reference to getting to the greatest possible distance from your wife's relations. The saying only consisted of four words, but I cannot translate it more shortly than thus:—"I don't like a wife out of the same village, any more than I like a sore in my shin."

I now come to a feature in the character of my farming neighbours which seems to me especially worthy of notice, as being so much at variance with the ordinary agricultural mind. That, we are ordinarily taught, is of the earth earthy; and we know as a positive fact that the ambition of the old type of English farmer extends no further than the ploughing of land, the selling of grain and stock, and the placing of the profits (if there are any) to breed in the county bank. Now, your Munzerabad farmer's ambition is, the moment he has got some money, to trade with it; to buy coffee, or rice,

or whatever there is to buy, and to take it down to the sea-coast for sale, and to bring back return loads of salt, or whatever will pay best. If he has bullocks of his own, he packs his goods on them; and if he has no cattle, or not enough, he hires carts and puts his goods in them. When I went first amongst these people there was very little of this, because they had no money, or too little to trade with, and the traffic of the country was carried on by the merchants; but the moment that the price of grain rose, and that coffee came to be more largely cultivated, the farmers at once took to trade, and so successfully, that the merchants complained that their business was almost gone. The tail-end of the crop, the berries that won't ripen, and that are picked off the ground, I find it advantageous to sell on the spot; and the buyers of this are not the merchants, but the farmers, whose whole efforts, when I first went amongst them, were to plough the ground, and live on the fruits thereof. Now, to many of my readers this alteration may seem a very trifling matter; but the fact that this alteration occurred quite suddenly seems to me to argue a natural spirit of adaptability and enterprise, which it would be difficult to find a parallel to in any agricultural race in the world. And I think this the more particularly worthy of notice, because it has been the fashion to represent the Indians as a people so wedded to their old ways and customs, that even railways and steam-engines can hardly create enough mental friction to produce amongst them an appreciable alteration. The people who account for the natives failing to adopt new customs or new methods of agriculture, by assuming that everything in the shape of improvement is doomed to be met with the answer that "we mean to do as our fathers did before us;" the

people who choose to assume that such notions bar the way to projects that will pay, may now, from what has been said, see some reason to doubt whether the natives may not have been perfectly right in rejecting those proposals which have emanated from a sincere, though mistaken, hope of accelerating their progress.*

Of minor points of native character there are two in particular which naturally excite the surprise of Englishmen in general: I mean the strong powers of *vis inertiæ* displayed by natives, and the difficulty of exciting in them any appearance of wonder or surprise. The first is, I admit, very catching, and I was surprised to find the principle appearing in myself before I had been more than two years alone with the farmers of Munzerabad. As an instance of the kind of thing I am alluding to, I may mention the following incident. One day, as I was seated amongst the fellers of a forest I was at that time clearing, a tree, from being somewhat bent and rather hollow, unexpectedly crashed down, and fell on the man who was cutting the lower side of it. The two men who had been cutting the upper side of the tree thereupon rested their axes on the stump, and one said to the other, "You pick him up," upon which the other replied, "You pick him up," and I, looking up from a paper of Addison's which I was perusing at the time, said, "Why don't both of you pick him up?" The end of this was, that before any of the speakers in this dialogue moved hand or foot, a friend of the fallen man came forward and dragged him out. By an extra-

* I have alluded to this subject before; but I shall make no apology for reverting to it several times in the course of this book, as drilling out notions is far more difficult than drilling them in.

ordinary piece of luck, the tree happened to have a deep bend in it exactly where it fell on the man, who consequently was not injured, but only half stunned by the blow. I am afraid this was very much the way with the Orissa famine, which was a case of "you pick him up, and why don't you pick him up, and why don't both of you pick him up." And I may observe, further, that, as regards the principle of *vis inertiæ*, all sorts of things that ought to be put down to it alone are traced to all manner of causes. All that apathy to the difficulties and wants of others, for instance, which people commonly assign to caste, has nothing to do with caste whatever, and that institution is simply made the scapegoat, or at least the excuse, for saving oneself trouble. Why don't you do this, and why don't you do that? It's against my caste, is the common excuse. Why don't you help this man, and why don't you help that man? And caste again comes in as the invariable excuse. I once saw a friend of mine in India about to sit down on a bench from which projected a nail, and I was inclined to mention that this projection might interfere with his comfort; but he hesitated as to whether he should sit down or not, and being impelled by *vis inertiæ* to abstain from making my statement unnecessarily, I hesitated. In the meantime he sat down, and soon rose up, with an expression which seemed to indicate that the nail had produced unpleasant consequences, upon which I observed, "I saw you would probably sit down on that nail." My friend then asked me, why in the name of heaven did I not tell him? Well, the thing was simply climate, which produces *vis inertiæ*, and that was the explanation. Not long ago, when I was riding along a road in Scotland, I saw

a mackintosh coat which had evidently been dropped. Thinking that some horse might shy at it, I got off with the view of putting it on one side of the road. It next occurred to me that the coat might belong to some poor man, who would be glad to have it back again, and I accordingly carried it on to the blacksmith's shop, and told the blacksmith to fix a notice on the smithy door as to the finding of the coat. As I went along with the coat, I could not help ruminating on the causes that induced me to trouble myself about the coat at all, and wondered not a little at my taking an amount of trouble that a year or two ago, when in India, never could, I should think, have been displayed by me, or indeed any Anglo-Indian. But the whole thing was the result of climate. It was climate that caused me to let my friend sit down on a nail; and it was climate again which led me to concern myself about the coat of an unknown individual. What I have just been saying shows conclusively the connection between climate and active morality. I was, as far as I could see, much the same man (neither better nor worse, I believe, in my own eyes, nor in the eyes of my neighbours) when I failed to exert myself in the case of the man upon whom the tree had fallen, as I was when I exerted myself as regards the mackintosh coat. But in the first instance, from living in a malarious climate, and from having suffered from fever, my blood corpuscles had, no doubt, fallen from the normal standard of 141·1 to, perhaps, as low as 123·538, the highest Bengalee standard recorded by Dr. Bird; * or, in other words, I had become fishy as to constitution. In the second instance, a residence in England had given me back

* *Vide* Dr. Bird's "Physiological Essays," pp. 80, 81.

a good supply of red corpuscles, and the active virtues, which had evidently become deadened, rose to their normal level. When Johnson, then, said that "all sick men are rascals," he simply expressed, with some exaggeration of course, the well-known fact that men who are sick, having a deficiency of red blood corpuscles, are not capable of the same amount of active morality as people who are well. To be angry, therefore, with a Bengalee, who, from all accounts, may be reckoned as the most inferior as regards active virtues, is like being angry with a man for not fighting with a stick as effectively as another man can with a sword. This subject of the analysis of the blood is extremely interesting and instructive, and one to which great attention will, no doubt, one day be paid, when giving an account of the various peoples of India. Hitherto it has been thought sufficient to weigh and measure people, and take casts of the head, and this, of course, is very well as far as it goes; but, to complete our information, I am persuaded that an analysis of the blood is absolutely necessary. I regret that I have no space to enter into further particulars on this subject, but the reader will find in Dr. Bird's work a full account of what I have but barely glanced at here.

Another point worthy of notice is the difficulty you experience in getting natives to show anything like an appearance of surprise; and of the numerous instances of this well-known feature in native character I need not give more than one illustration. When I once went to Bangalore, I took with me my native clerk (the son of a poor farmer in the open country), with a view of giving him a treat and showing him the world. I took him, on arrival, to the railway station, where there happened

to be a train just about to start. After surveying the carriages, I took him to the engine, and told him that this was the machine on which everything depended. "Is it indeed?" he said, and, to my amusement, quietly rested one of his bare feet on the sort of ledge that runs round the side of the boiler. It is very interesting to take a man thus from the jungle, and observe the effect produced on him by new things, and to hear his remarks. In one respect this man certainly imitated John Bull abroad. He used always, being the principal native on my estates, to be neatly and sometimes richly dressed, and I was rather annoyed to find that he turned up most shabbily attired for his travels. I could not help observing this to him, when he at once gave the English answer, that it was no matter, for nobody knew him when he was away from home. This clerk of mine, whom I took from the Hassan school when he was a mere lad, served me for more than ten years, and died in my service. He was equally a favourite with me and with my late manager, and had such an uncommonly shrewd head on his shoulders, that we always liked to hear his opinion. He spoke English, not to a very great extent, but with accuracy and force, and when I first started life he gave me many hints as regards the way of treating my native neighbours which I found of value. "Sir," said the oracle, "with the near you must be far, and with the far, near"—a hint worth remembering, and which meant that you should be rather distant with those you see constantly, and rather familiar with those you see seldom.

When I left England I was not eighteen, and, from being consequently somewhat boyish when I first started life, I once played some trick on the oracle, who was

walking in front of me. The oracle turned round and said, "Sir, it is not proper to play with servants." He then walked on without giving me time for any answer, which on reflection I thought it as well to abstain from making. On another occasion, when I was travelling in the plains of Mysore, and there was difficulty in some village in getting supplies, I overheard the oracle telling one of the natives that I was a relation of the superintendent. I afterwards taxed him with this, and asked him what he meant by telling such falsehoods, upon which he said, "Sir, you can't get on in this country without telling lies; I don't tell lies to you." And, to do him justice, in all the years we had to do with him, neither I nor my late manager, who had four years' daily experience of him, ever found that we were deceived by him in any way. On one occasion I recollect asking what was done with a man who came to me with some horrid cutaneous complaint. The oracle looked at the man with some disgust, and then said, "I think it is better to take some poison and to die than live like that." The only thing I ever heard, even remotely connected with mutinies, was when the oracle was once on leave at his village, or rather town, which lay some thirty miles in the interior of Mysore. In the town were a good many Mussulmans, and a lad of that caste called out to the oracle, and said that the time was soon coming when they would be able to do what they liked, and then the Hindoo people would get the worst of it. The oracle, who at that time was a stout, strong lad of fifteen, at once grappled with the Mahomedan, and they were both in consequence arrested and taken before the amildar, who dismissed them on account of their youth. When I first employed the oracle, he got

only 12*s.* a month, and he had to feed and clothe himself out of that. I found him a most valuable man, and he eventually got £3 a month. He would do anything, from keeping the Canarese correspondence of the estate, and the English accounts, to superintending the coolies and driving a cart. And I am the more particular in mentioning this, because it will show Englishmen that if they will only take their native clerks and overseers from the agricultural classes, instead of from the Brahminical or other castes, they can get men of physical strength and stamina, who, if well treated and well paid, will turn their hand to anything. Another thing is, that though much slower and not half so quick-witted as the Brahmins and classes accustomed to sedentary pursuits, the farmers are far more shrewd-headed, and have far more of the principle which we generally call common sense. And this is a fact that I have heard natives themselves assert.

There is one point more that I think worth mentioning, and that is the good feeling shown by these farmers in trifling matters. Sometimes this used to evince itself in a way that made me pleased, and yet half angry. When I have been excessively fatigued, partly from ill-health, and partly from the steepness of the precipitous mountains of the Western Ghauts, I have actually caught my gun-carrier and general shooting attendant making conversation, and pointing out this and that, with evidently no other purpose than that of distracting my attention, or, in other words, talking to cheer me up, and to prevent my feeling the fatigue so much. The intention of this was no doubt good, but, to our ideas, it was treating one rather like a child.

Some Englishmen—in fact, I may say most English-

men—cannot bear being stared at and watched; but in remote parts of the country few natives have ever seen an Englishman, or, if they have, it has only been for a moment, and it is therefore not to be wondered at if they watch the white man's motions with much the same interest that people in this country would observe the man in the moon, were that individual to think of visiting this earth. An engineer, who stopped at my house on his way from visiting a ghaut road in a remote part of the country, told me that he had been, during his inspection, followed about by one man in particular for a whole day. At last the engineer asked the native why he watched him so attentively. The Indian replied that he hadn't seen an Englishman for twenty years, and that he didn't know when he might see one again. I recollect, when sitting in the verandah of my house one day, calling for water to drink three times at short intervals, and a native (a Brahmin, if I recollect rightly) at once wanted to know whether that had anything to do with religion. I confess that I myself had no objection to being made the subject of this innocent curiosity, and I think that young settlers who would wish to be on good terms with their neighbours should not resent being stared at a little.

It is sometimes amusing to hear the native solution of a state of things for which no parallel exists in the rural districts of India. They cannot imagine a man existing without land of some sort, and a house of his own as a matter of course. They asked me what I did when I went to my village. I said that I went to my father, who was a landowner. They then wanted to know if every one did the same, upon which I told them that every one could not, for there were many of my country-

men whose fathers had neither land nor houses of their own. Here was a dilemma, till one of the questioners said, "Then I suppose those who have neither lands nor houses must do as the gypsies do, and pitch their tents wherever they can find plenty of wood and water."

By this time I think that I must have thoroughly exhausted both my native neighbours and the patience of the reader; but, before closing this chapter, it may be useful to recapitulate at least a portion of the ground we have gone over.

The first point we considered in this chapter was that of gratitude, or rather, the alleged want of it; and, from the facts adduced, we came to the conclusion that people are often led erroneously to infer want of feeling where there exists no word exactly similar to our word thanks, and that the feeling of gratitude may often exist without any verbal expression whatever. It was then pointed out that gratitude for saving life did not exist, because life was not much valued, but that where the saving of life involved much trouble, people were grateful accordingly; and, generally, we came to the conclusion that, judging from the practical returns for favours received, the natives of Munzerabad were by no means deficient in gratitude. Turning next to the subject of veracity, we endeavoured to show that it was important, in the first place, not to mistake the language of compliments for the language of lies. We then, and entirely with reference to the lower classes, came to the conclusion that, for the most part, the lies that were told were told largely from fear, and that they varied in amount in accordance with the character of the Englishman—increasing if he was unreasonable and violent, and sinking to a minimum if he was humane and reasonable.

It was then shown that, in the opinion of a person well able to judge, a humane man need be told no more lies by the native labourers of Munzerabad than by the labourers in Scotland; but at the same time it was pointed out that the Indian labourers were not therefore as truthful as the Scotch, seeing that the former would lie without scruple to severe masters, while the latter would be uninfluenced by fear, and supported by moral and religious training. Some remarks were then made as regards the doubtful and difficult subject of being able to estimate the truthfulness of the lower classes in this country; and generally, under the head of veracity, the conclusion that we arrived at, in comparing the Scotch and Munzerabad labourers, was, that the Indian labourer, where he was not influenced by fear, would not tell more lies than labourers elsewhere. We then took into consideration the general character of the farmers of Munzerabad as regards honesty, faithfulness in keeping their engagements, and general truthfulness, and, from the instances given, we concluded that their character in these respects was excellent, and that they practised honesty, and appreciated it highly in others. After that we looked at the way they treat their dying relatives, and the matter-of-fact, and apparently unfeeling, way they took the deaths of their friends and relations; and, comparing them with the Scotch of the olden generation, we saw that observers may often be deceived by habits of expression and the way of looking at things, and that there is no more reason to assert that the Indians are hard-hearted than there would be for asserting that the Scotch were, because they looked at death in a more matter-of-fact way than the English. And, having taken the way of looking at things into

consideration, we came to the conclusion, from a variety of signs too numerous for detail, that the Indians felt the death of those near and dear to them much as we do. We then looked at the way they take matters of life and death in two other respects—hanging and murder. In considering their character as regards the domestic relations of life, we saw that the farmers' wives were very well treated, that they had none of the hard work to do, and that they could succeed to property, and enjoyed, in many respects, as many advantages as Englishwomen. We also observed that the position of a Hindoo widow with a family was an honourable one; that she was treated with deference by her children; and it was further shown that some of the families that had turned out best were entirely brought up by women. The general treatment of children, it was also seen, showed the native character in as amiable a light as it has generally been seen in other parts of India. We then glanced at the political sentiments of the natives, which we found to consist in a unanimous desire to be let alone. Turning our attention subsequently to the manners of the people, we noticed their habit of never appearing to be disturbed; their habit of always employing a go-between to state their cases or prefer their complaints, and the results that arose from this habit, as shown in a desire to interfere and offer opinions on matters with which they had personally nothing to do; and the advisability of yielding to this peculiarity was pointed out. We then remarked on the alleged deficiencies of memory amongst the natives, and gave several instances which seemed to contradict that notion. We also noticed their courage and sense of honour, and saw reason to think that they were any-

thing but deficient in the former quality, and had at least somewhat of the latter. We observed, further, that the natives being easily pleased with cheap and inexpensive exhibitions, it was advisable to gratify them in these respects, but that those means of insuring popularity were only to be considered as adjuncts to that uniform kindness and consideration which alone can insure their liking and respect. As regards their hospitality, we only noticed that there seemed the same proportion of liberal and stingy people as amongst ourselves. We then noticed that the farmers of Munzerabad at once betook themselves to trade the moment they had made a little money, and that this constituted a striking difference between them and the farmers of the old English type, and betokened an adaptability and readiness to adopt new methods which show that the rigid adherence to custom, which writers are so fond of attributing to the Hindoos, is not necessarily one of the prevailing features in the character of the people. The *vis inertiæ* of the natives, in some respects, was then commented on; the difficulty of exciting in them an appearance of surprise, and other points, which it is unnecessary to recapitulate, were mentioned; and the remarks on native character thus brought to a conclusion.

I have now given the reader a minute, and, I hope, accurate account of native character in the private relations of life. I have shown how the farmers of Munzerabad appeared to me as neighbours, and how the lower classes appeared to me in the relation of master and servant. But the reader will naturally observe that I have said nothing as regards the moral character of the population in other respects—as to morality in

regard to the connection of the sexes, and as to the use and results of intoxicating drinks. These particulars, however, I have thought fit to reserve for my chapter on Caste, where, in consequence of the moral influence of that institution, they may, I conceive, be more conveniently introduced.

CHAPTER IV.

NATIVE CHARACTER.—CURRENT AND WRITTEN OPINIONS.

IF we know little of our own motives, what do we know of the motives of others? If we find it difficult to form a just estimate of our fellow-countrymen, how difficult must it be to sum up the character of the European races! If we find it difficult to estimate rightly members of the same family of nations, and in civilisation akin to us, what must be our difficulties in judging those Asiatic races which, as regards manners, customs, and civilisation, differ so widely from the European! Look for one moment at these difficulties. Consider how chance may influence our opinions by throwing favourable or unfavourable specimens of the human animal in our way. Consider how much is owing to our discrimination as to character, and how much to the standard of comparison we happen to have set up in our own minds; how much is due to our own personal character; how much to prosperity, which may tend to make one inclined to take lenient and charitable views; how much to adversity, which may induce disgust; how much even to the state of one's general health; how much to the situation in which one may have been thrown as regards the people; or, in other words, to one's opportunities of observation. And if

these are only a few of the multitude of considerations which may bias the judgment, how seriously should we reflect before pronouncing opinions on an Asiatic race! How seriously should we consider of the harm that may be done in prejudicing Englishmen against the races they have undertaken to govern! Nor should we consider this the less seriously because, individually speaking, the additions we may make to the pile of rubbish that has been written about the Hindoos can exercise but a trifling influence. The insects that form the coral rocks are but small, and yet the coral rocks creep out into the sea, and on them are wrecked mighty ships. Now, in India and out of India, we have had a number of insects at work, who have laboriously built up an opinion as to Indians; and though, unlike the coral rock, it has no solid foundation, the harm done has been only too real, and its natural tendency is to widen still further that breach which separates so widely the white and dark races. The opinions of those evil-working insects have, it is true, been opposed by men of enlarged information and enlightened minds; but Englishmen living in a hated and uncongenial clime drink in but too eagerly all that can be said against the people who inhabit it, and thus it is that the evil spirits have overcome the good, and have handed on a tradition which time seems only to strengthen, and of which we meet with instances wherever we turn—in the older writers, as Mill and Buchanan—in the petty publications of the day, but more especially in the current talk of Anglo-Indian society. Now, there is seldom smoke without fire, and if the damners of Indians have been wrong in their conclusions, not the less wrong have been their unqualified supporters, and

never did the case of "save me from my friends" more truly apply; for if there are Europeans and Europeans, not the less are there Indians and Indians. If there are Englishmen and Englishmen, not the less are there Mysoreans and Mysoreans. But well, indeed, may any one shrink from the difficult task of trying to tear up those traditional notions which are so firmly rooted in the minds of our countrymen. I feel persuaded, however, that a time is at hand when the vague and unmapped continent now existing in the minds of most Englishmen will be clearly marked out; when race will be clearly distinguished from race; when allowances will be made for effects that have been produced by oppression; when the people of the country will be distinguished from the scum of our cantonments; when the Hindoo character, in its relations with the State, and with reference to the relations of private life, will be clearly understood; and when, in short, altered and impartial ideas will gradually change our opinions of natives, and so aid to insure the security of our Indian Empire.

Little, indeed, dare I hope to effect by publishing my opinions and the results of my experience. The last may be insufficient, and the first wrong; but, right or wrong, the reader may rest assured that my conclusions are the real result of my experience, and that they are entirely unbiassed by prejudices of any sort, or by the opinions of others. In the previous chapter I have given the reader my experience as to the private character of the natives amongst whom I lived; I now think it may not be altogether uninteresting if we take some account of the published opinions of various writers as regards the Indians in general, and glance as well at those opinions

which are now current in Anglo-Indian society. I shall accordingly devote the remainder of this chapter first of all to the published experience of our countrymen, and of two of the foreign writers on India; and, secondly, I shall briefly allude to the current feelings as shown in Anglo-Indian society.

In considering the opinions of our countrymen as regards the natives of India, and theirs as regards us, we shall find an exact counterpart of what always occurs where a mutual dislike prevails between two peoples, and where imagination is left to supply the place of that precise information which can only be obtained by long and intimate intercourse. The most striking illustration of this we ever had in Europe consisted in the opinions once current in France as regards the English, and the opinions of the English as regards the French. In our days it is amazing to read that we should ever have thought the French to be a nation of poor, wooden-shod, frog-eating, atheistical slaves, any ten of whom a stout Englishman could dispose of with ease. Equally amazing is it to think it possible that, long after we had made considerable progress in science and literature, the French should have held us to be a horde of ignorant barbarians, dwelling in a villainous climate, and enveloped in such a gloomy despondency that suicide was often resorted to as the only possible relief. Numerous illustrations might be added as regards other nations in support of the general principle I have started with; but I need not trouble the reader with enumerating instances which must readily occur to the most ordinary reader, and shall, therefore, assume that, as regards a country so distant as India, the misrepresentations have naturally exceeded all that one nation has ever asserted

of another. I anticipate that it will be objected that our position in India is not an absolutely correct parallel, and I am aware that it is not; but if there is a difference, it is only one which exaggerates the general result; for, were this not so, we should not be able to point to opinions which tend to degrade the English and Indians in each other's eyes. We should not be able to show that we look upon them as a treacherous, lying race, while they look upon us as a people addicted to every vice, and that they, till within very recent times at least, considered that we had not even the semblance of a religion. While thus, however, alluding cursorily to what natives think and have thought of us, I must not forget that at present I am concerned rather with what we think of them than they of us, and I therefore at once proceed to review at least a portion of those opinions, and of that general experience which has been published by our countrymen, and by several of those whom we term foreigners.

Of all the books I have read upon India, I have found none that has taken my fancy so much as a little work that was published in London in the year 1711, and which consists of translations from the letters of two Danish missionaries, "lately sent to the East Indies for the conversion of the heathens in Malabar." In short, there is such an air of earnestness and simplicity about these worthy men, and the general feeling evinced in their letters presents such a contrast to the arrogant tone of many of our missionaries, that I cannot resist departing a little from my original intention, merely to give the reader a notion of the interesting record of the experience of the first missionaries.

It was on the 29th of November, 1705, that Bartho-

lomew Ziegenbalgh and Henry Plutscho "embarked with great joy in a ship called the *Princess Sophia Hedwigh*, and attended with many hearty wishes, cheerfully went on board, hoping that the presence of God would go before, and lovingly incline the hearts of that barbarous people, whom they were going to visit, with the welcome tidings of salvation." On the day after they set sail, and arrived the night following at Helsingœhr. "Here," observed the missionaries, "a mariner of our ship, tumbling down from the mainmast, miserably broke his neck, to our great surprise; and another, falling into the sea, was narrowly caught by the hair of the head, and saved from drowning." After lingering on the coast for nearly a fortnight, they sailed again, and came into the North Sea, where they both fell sea-sick, but, by the help of God, recovered. On the 16th they buried a boy dead of the small-pox. They took their course to the north, and so sailed round, leaving England and Ireland on the left, and on the 21st entered the Spanish seas, where towering billows received them very stoutly, the ship seeming as if it were carried through a deep vale betwixt two lofty mountains. To many this might have seemed disheartening; but our worthy missionaries looked upon things in a very different light. "The sight," they say, "we had of the marvellous works of God did not a little cheer up our spirits. And the more the storms and roarings of the seas brake in upon us, the more increased the joy and praise of God in our mouths." On the 9th of February, 1706, they passed the line very successfully; but, after that, had a contrary wind for eight weeks, and were driven quite upon the coast of America. At length, and on the 23rd of April, they reached the Cape, where

they wrote their first letter to their friends in Europe. The good men seem to have spent their time in reading and in pious exercises, and it is interesting to hear them expatiating on the advantages of their hazardous journey, and how "this very voyage has been hitherto an experimental school, wherein we are not so much taught the bare letter of Divinity, as the lively and practical sense of the inward power and sweetness thereof." They seemed disappointed at finding so few Christians amongst the German Lutherans, and observed "that every one pretended he cannot serve God so well in these parts as in his own country; and so they think they had rather put it quite off till they came home again." They seemed to form no very high opinion of the Hottentots, but found them otherwise of a good temper enough, and of a suitable proportion of body, but that they stunk terribly, greasing themselves daily with fat. They did ample justice, though, to the good qualities of the Hottentots, and soon discovered they were very kind to one another, and so communicative in their love, that "if one has something that is good, he shareth it among all the rest." These savages are also described as being very faithful in things committed to their care, and what good qualities they had were carefully enumerated.

On the 8th of May the good men set out from the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa, and soon fell in with such a violent storm that the upper part of the mainmast was split into three pieces, and in the cabin everything was broken with prodigious violence. In due course they touched very near the island of Ceylon, and in calm weather could spy the elephants walking on the shore. At length they reached Tranquebar, on the

coast of Coromandel, and their first letter from there, which must have been written shortly after their arrival, was dated July 12th, 1706.

In their third letter they give an account of the idols of the Malabarians, and in the fourth they treat particularly of the readiness of the people in arguing, and observe that the Malabarians, being a witty and sagacious people, must needs be managed with a great deal of care and circumspection. Their schoolmaster, being a man of threescore years and ten, argued daily with them, and required good reasons and arguments for everything. "We hope," they wrote, "to bring him over to Christian knowledge; but he is confident as yet that, one time or another, we shall all turn Malabarians, and, in this hope, he takes all the pains imaginable to render things as plain and easy to us as possible."

In their fifth letter they observe that the chief reason of aversion to Christianity is the scandalous and corrupted life of the Christians, and assert that the Malabarians look upon the Christians as the very dregs of this world, and the general bane of mankind. The Malabarians, they wrote, acknowledged that there was but one God, and all other gods were but servants or attendants, but think that no reason for believing that the Christian religion is the only true one; and the people, it seems, had also the boldness to declare that any one who has but led an honest life in this world, let him be otherwise what he will, shall, after death, receive a good reward. In this letter they also mention a proposal to test by fire the respective merits of the Malabarian and Christian Scripture. If the Christian books did not take fire, then the Malabarians would turn Christians; and if the reverse happened, it was proposed that

the Christians should turn Malabarians. If both were burnt, the question would remain undecided. (A moolah at Akbar's court, it may be mentioned, proposed a personal test of the same nature to the Roman Catholic priest who came from Goa to convert the Emperor; and Akbar seemed to think that the experiment of putting a Christian and a native priest into the fire, to see if they were both burnt alike, would be worth trying.)

In the sixth letter we have an interesting account of the conversion of a Malabarian gentleman, who seems to have questioned the missionaries at great length, and with extraordinary minuteness. The good men wrote that to give an account of all their conversations with the Malabarian would afford matter for more than twenty sheets of paper. Amongst the things the Indian wanted to know were, "Whether God had not been powerful enough in himself to receive fallen man into his favour without sending his Son? Why Christ was obliged to suffer and to die on that account? Why there had been no Christians from the beginning of the world? Whether God could not compel men by force into his service? Why the number of Christians was so very small? Why one man could not live as piously and religiously as another? From whence so many sects had sprung up amongst the Christians? Whether the Christians in Europe did live as wicked lives as those in the East Indies?" These are a few instances of the numerous questions put. The Malabarian in question had, it appeared, studied for five years in the Malabaric schools, and was pretty well versed in their theology, philosophy, and arithmetic. He knew Portuguese, in which language the conversations were carried on, and soon seems to have acquired a knowledge of the High

Dutch. Altogether he seems to have been a convert well worth having; and this, the first-fruits of their mission, must have been not a little gratifying to the worthy men. In the same chapter it is pleasant to read that the news of their being settled there reached King Tanjour, that one of his officers paid the missionaries a visit, and offered them a safeguard of thirty soldiers in case they should wish to see the country, and that their visitor also offered to write to the king on their behalf, and make way for cultivating a good correspondence.

The seventh letter was "To a Friend without Berlin," and in it we again find complimentary allusions to the wit and understanding of the Malabarians, who, however, still seemed to think that the Word of God, as proposed by the missionaries, contained nothing but dry and insipid notions. After censuring their extravagant notions and scriptural stories, the missionaries added—"However, in the midst of these exorbitant fancies and delusions, they lead a very quiet, honest, and virtuous life, by the mere influence of their natural abilities; infinitely outdoing our false Christians and superficial pretenders to a better sort of religion."

I now come to the only indiscretion the good men seem to have been guilty of. "Yesterday," they write, "taking a walk into the country, we came to an idol temple, wherein Ispard's Lady (he being one of their first-rate gods) is worshipped. Her Ladyship was surrounded with abundance of other gods, made of porcelain. We, being deeply affected with so foppish a set of gods, threw some down to the ground, and striking off the heads of others, endeavoured to convince these poor deluded people that their images were nothing but

impotent and silly idols, utterly unable to protect themselves, and much less their worshippers. But one of their doctors of divinity, happening to be present, replied that 'they did not hold them to be gods, but only God's soldiers, or life-guardsmen.' At last we convinced him so far that he was forced to own these things to be mere fooleries; but said withal, 'that the design of them was to lead the meaner and duller sort of people, by looking on these images, up to the contemplation of the life to come.'" This answer, I may remind the reader, as to the minor gods being much, as it were, the soldiers of the great God, was almost the same as that made to me by a native in Munzerabad, and affords additional and interesting evidence regarding the native appreciation of the value of the various gods that are worshipped.

In letter nine, dated Sept. 12th, 1707, there is little of especial interest; but it is satisfactory to learn that the work of God ran on amain, and that the congregation of our worthy missionaries consisted of sixty-three persons, and that another native was to be baptized presently. It is also pleasant to read that "heathens and Mahometans are kind enough to us, and love to be in our company, notwithstanding we have all along laid open to them the vanity of their idolatrous and superstitious worship."

In the first of the second series of letters addressed to friends in Europe we again find the difficulties of conversion alluded to; and it is said that if the Christians find one error in the doctrine of the heathens, these will find ten in the life and conduct of the Christians. They again allude, in a subsequent letter, to the ideas prevalent as regards the value of idols. The natives, they say, "pretend likewise that wise and understanding men

among them perform their worship without images, these being designed for children only, and the duller sort of people, who know not what ideas or representations to frame of these heavenly beings." In this vast multitude of people, too, they never met with a single atheist, or a man who had the boldness to contradict the existence of a Sovereign Being and the truth of a future life. They also notice the frequency of acts of charity amongst the natives. We are also informed that "some had thrown off all manner of idolatrous worship, and that they don't so much as come near a pagoda. These sort of men did not own any religious party at all,* thinking themselves raised above the common set of religions used among the heathens." These men, the missionaries found, were very ready to talk of virtue and holiness of life; but when they talked to them of Christ, they didn't seem to like it as well as if they had barely talked to them of virtue, and purity of life and manner.

Letter four contains a most interesting account of the conversion of a Malabar poet and schoolmaster, who seems to have taken an extraordinary interest in religious questions. He had studied all the Malabarian and Mahomedan books he could find, and after he had conversed with the missionaries and studied Christianity for three years, he became finally convinced, and was baptized in the face of all the opposition of his friends. The pains this convert seems to have taken were very great; and we are informed that he "penned a letter, and directed it to all the learned in Germany, together with six hundred and eight questions, treating upon divinity and philosophy, wherein he wanted to have their determination." One of the missionaries translated

* Evidently the Brahmo Somaj school of the present time.

the questions, but I can find no further allusion to them, nor any account of an answer to them.

And now I must bid good-bye to these good and amiable men, whose lives, indeed, it is difficult to contemplate without feelings of envy and admiration, but whose letters, I fear, I have quoted at unpardonable length. But I have been induced to devote a good deal of space to them, as what they say speaks alike well for the missionaries and for the natives, and forms such a pleasing contrast to the unsparing calumnies that have been circulated by many of our countrymen as regards the Indians in general. Having thus taken leave of our Danish missionaries, I shall now turn the attention of the reader to those evil reports that have been so industriously circulated regarding the people by our countrymen in India. And here it may naturally be asked, why, in tracing that long stream of vilification which, commencing with Holwell of the black-hole, terminates with Sir William Denison of Madras, I should trouble the reader with quotations from writers, many of whom seem, in some respects at least, to be entitled to higher rank amongst the ladies of the British fishery than they are ever likely to obtain amongst the authors of that nation. But in tracking the causes of opinions we must consider that it is much easier to read than to observe; that it is from reading, nowadays, that almost all our opinions are formed; and that the character of the natives as already existing in men's mouths, has been created and maintained by authors who had little idea, perhaps, of the harm they were doing. And if these evils can be tracked home, and the authors within reach be as severely animadverted upon by the public as they deserve to be, I am in hopes that the thoughtless stream

of abuse (which has mainly, I believe, been copied from one book into another) may be arrested, and that to it may succeed a discriminating account of the people of India from such of our countrymen as have been mixed up with them in all the relations of life. I shall not, of course, transcribe all the evil reports I have read, but shall simply quote a sufficient number of instances to show that I have not set up a number of imaginary nine-pins, merely for the pleasure of knocking them down again.

To commence, then, I may mention that Holwell, in writing in 1766, says that, excepting such of the Brahmins who strictly pursue the tenets and spirit of their religion, "the Gentoos, in general, are as degenerate, crafty, superstitious, litigious, and wicked people as any race of beings in the known world, if not eminently more so." And as Mill used Holwell as one of his authorities, we need not be surprised to find in Mill's work a most severe and acrimonious account of the Hindoos in general. In fact, as Mill's opinions were formed entirely from the works of writers on India, I may as well save myself the trouble of alluding to any writer previous to Mill. In looking into his work we find, indeed, a more dreadful account of the Indians than I suppose was ever given of any people; and to his history being unfortunately used as a text-book at Haileybury, Shore, in his valuable "Indian Notes," attributes the bad opinion which most civil servants had already formed of the natives before having set foot in the country. Mill, indeed, seems to have thought that the Hindoos and Mahomedans were much alike; and amongst the torrent of vilification we find that "the same insincerity, mendacity, and perfidy;

the same indifference to the feelings of others; the same prostitution and venality are common to both." But even Mill himself seems to have been entirely eclipsed by a clergyman of the name of Massie, who, in animadverting upon what he is pleased to call the "eunuch-like Hindoos," uses a collection of epithets which really would do credit, for their variety, to any language in the world. "The separate tribes," says Mr. Massie, "may be variously described as cruel, insidious, and sensual, though cunning, ambitious, talented, warlike; as roving, thieving, murdering, free-booting, vindictive, sanguinary, untamable, and haughty; as filthy, mercenary, piratical, turbulent, bigoted, and degraded; as ferocious, depraved, dissolute, restless, mendicant, and avaricious."

I said that I thought it would be unnecessary to quote any writers previous to Mill; but as in Heyne's Tracts I find especial reference to Mysore, I may as well mention that he, referring to the natives of that province, wrote, "The morality of the Mysoreans is perfectly similar to that of all the Indians, and is low to a degree that is almost beyond the conception of every nation in Europe. Lying, cheating, domineering, perfidy, fickleness, dissembling, treachery, adultery, are so common and familiar, that they can scarcely in India be classed amongst those practices that are considered as vices." "Indolence," he informs us, "is the greatest of their virtues, and that can only be overcome by a thirst for gain, by revenge, and by absolute starvation." Heyne wrote seventy years ago, and it may therefore be supposed that the stream of vilification stopped those who wrote about this time; but as far as I have been able to observe the tendency of a stream of opinion

started in books (and even, as I shall show, where treating of ordinary matters of fact, as Indian agriculture) is to go on, and even to increase in volume. In passing, therefore, to more recent writers, we shall find the remarks rather increasing than diminishing in severity, and we shall find, in especial, our missionaries endorsing those remarks with an ingenuity which is eminently calculated to impose upon people who are little given either to reading or reflection. Accordingly, we find, in Arthur's "Mission to the Mysore," the following opinion and reasoning. In speaking of the people, he says, "On their matrimonial morality it is neither necessary nor desirable to enlarge. It is such as might be expected from those whose sacred books are feculent, whose divinities are patterns of license, some of whose rites are Bacchanalian, and some of whose idols are a shame even to mention."* Now, without going

* Just as we may track back our ideas of Hindoo agriculture to Buchanan, so may we track back this idea to that (as he is called by Dr. Duff) "great and good man, Ward," an extract from whose work I here give. I may here observe that our missionaries seem to have fastened on the women of India with extraordinary severity, while people of the Sir William Denison order have fastened more particularly on the men; so between them the unfortunate Indians have come rather badly off.

"Men are sufficiently corrupt by nature without any outward excitements to evil in the public festivals; nor have civil nor spiritual terrors, the frowns of God and governors united, been found sufficient to keep within restraint the overflowings of iniquity: but what must be the moral state of that country where the sacred festivals, and the very forms of religion, lead men to every species of vice! These festivals and public exhibitions excite universal attention, and absorb for weeks together almost the whole of the public conversation; and such is the enthusiasm with which they are hailed, that the whole country seems to be thrown into a ferment; health, property, time, business, everything is sacrificed to them. In this manner are the people prepared to receive impressions from their national institutions. If these institutions were favourable to virtue, the effects would be most happy; but as, in addition to their fascination, they are exceedingly calculated to corrupt the mind, the most dreadful consequences follow, and vice, like a mighty torrent, flows through the plains of Bengal with the force of the flood-tide of the Ganges, carrying along with it young and old, the learned and the ignorant, rich and poor, all castes and descriptions of people, into an awful eternity.

"In short, the characters of the gods, and the licentiousness which prevails at

into the errors of detail of some part of this statement, I may observe that to assume that, because there are licentious religious ceremonies existing in a country, there must necessarily be licentious national morals, is a conclusion which, when deliberately published, exhibits an ignorance and negligence which can hardly be too severely censured. For the fallacy of such a course of reasoning was pointed out by Voltaire, and was afterwards alluded to by Dean Milman, who, as was shown by Buckle, was mistaken in attributing to Constant a remark that Voltaire seems to have been the first to make. But the whole subject of indecent mythological rites is gone into in Cox's "Mythology of the Aryan Nations," and as these rites have been frequently assumed to have arisen, and to have been, as it were, the natural result and production of licentious national habits, it may perhaps be as well to borrow from Mr. Cox's work a few facts which may tempt those who have not met with his book to study the subject for themselves.

In his chapter, then, on the Development of Mythology, Mr. Cox points out that in the Vedic songs we read of Indra, the sun-god, as fighting with Vritra, the dark power, who imprisons the rain in the storm-cloud; that we read of him again as fighting with Ahi, the throttling snake, and as pursuing the beautiful Dahana of the dawn. And these names thus attached to, and used in connection with, the phenomena of nature, would, in course of time, and as tribes scattered over

their festivals, and abounds in their popular works, with the enervating nature of the climate, have made the Hindoos the most effeminate and corrupt people on earth. I have, in the course of this work, exhibited so many proofs of this fact, that I will not again disgust the reader by going into the subject. *Suffice it to say, that fidelity to marriage vows is almost unknown among the Hindoos; the intercourse of the sexes approaches very near to that of the irrational animals.*"—Ward's "History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos," p. 70.

the face of the earth, be personified, and from that the step to deification would be short. The expressions which attached a living force to natural objects would be continued, and would result in personal, and often sensual, attributes to the gods that had thus been manufactured or developed from the early fancies and language with which the imagination of man had clothed and represented the moving scenes amongst which they dwelt.* And the words of Kumârila prove that, among the Eastern Aryans, the real character of their mythology had not been forgotten. He, too, had to listen to complaints like these, which Pindar and Plato bring against the follies and the vices of the gods. His answer is ready.

"It is fabled that Prajâpati, the Lord of Creation, did violence to his daughter. But what does it mean? Prajâpati, the Lord of Creation, is a name of the sun, and he is called so because he protects all creatures. His daughter Ushas is the dawn. And when it is said that he was in love with her, this only means that, at sunrise, the sun runs after the dawn, the dawn being at the same time called the daughter of the sun, because she rises when he approaches. In the same manner, if it is said that Indra was the seducer of Ahalyâ, this does not imply that the god Indra committed such a crime; but Indra means the sun, and Ahalyâ the night, and as the night is seduced and ruined by the sun of the morning, therefore is Indra called the paramour of Ahalyâ."

Starting, then, from ideal modes of expressing physical phenomena and the grand operations of nature, we get at last to a personification and deification of the heroes or gods, who were invested in the popular mind with the

* Vol. i. p. 51.

realities of what had at first been merely poetical ideas regarding the action of physical phenomena. "But," to use the words of Mr. Cox,* "in such a process as this, it is manifest that the men amongst whom it sprang up would not be responsible for the form it might assume. Words, applied at first simply to outward objects or phenomena, would become the names of personal gods; and the phrases which described those objects would then be transferred to what were now deities to be adored. But it would not follow that a form of thought which might apply, not only without harm, but with a marvellous beauty, to things if living, yet not personal, would bear translation into the conditions of human life. If, in the older speech, the heaven was wedded to the earth, which returned his love with a prodigal fertility, in the later time the name of the heaven would be the name of a god, and that god would necessarily be earthly and sensual. But this development of a mythology, much of which would inevitably be immoral, and even repulsive, would not necessarily exercise a similar debasing influence on the morality and practice of the people. It had been started with being a sentiment, not a religion,—a personal conviction, but not a moral belief; and the real object of the heart's adoration would remain not less distinct from the creations of mythology than it had been before. Nay, it might be that, with any given people, the tone of thought and the character of society might be more and more raised, even while the incongruous mythological fabric assumed more stupendous proportions." But enough has now been said to show that there is nothing at all to wonder at when we find repulsive national legends and a good

* Vol. i. p. 87.

state of morality side by side, and that to draw an inference as to the state of a people's morals from the mythological rites prevailing in a country is absurd.

It is melancholy to find that two of the principal calumniators of the women of India are English missionaries, but it is satisfactory to be able to quote one missionary against others. And in reference to this subject of the character of the women, and the way they are treated, I may quote the experience of the Abbé Dubois, who lived amongst the people of Mysore for twenty-two years, and on terms of the most intimate description.* The letter from which I quote was written by way of reply or in allusion to the dreadful picture drawn by the missionary Ward of the natives of India, and especially in reply to calumnious statements as to the condition of native women. "To them," says the Abbé, "belong the entire management of their household and the care of their children. To them are intrusted generally the valuables of the family. They are charged almost entirely with the delicate task of procuring husbands for their daughters and wives for their sons; and in the management of their domestic business they show a shrewdness and savingness and foresight which would do honour to the best housewife

* I may here add that I have taken pains to ascertain the opinion of the oldest planter in Mysore, a gentleman whose experience must have been, I should think, quite equal to that of the Abbé Dubois, and who lived for fifteen years amongst the people before a second planter settled in his division of the Mysore province. And as to the excellent morality prevailing amongst the population (the farmers of the country), he entirely agreed with the opinions I have elsewhere expressed. But I do not think I need say anything more in support of the character of the native women of Mysore, which has thus been aspersed by men who, instead of carrying a message of peace between the two countries, have (through ignorance, let us hope), by drawing entirely false pictures of the domestic life of the natives, done so much to prejudice them in the eyes of our countrymen. Truly indeed has it been said that the spirit of Christ is often wanting where his name is, as it is often present where his name is not.

in Europe. When any one is lucky, it is said that he has an intelligent wife. The authority of married women within houses is very great and undisputed, and though in public there is an outward appearance of authority on the part of the husband, this vanishes in private. The women are dutiful daughters, faithful wives, tender and intelligent housewives, and not, as Mr. Ward says, mere animals kept for burden or slaughter." And this is the experience of a man who, on the authority of Colonel Wilks, we know to have actually dwelt in the houses of the people of Mysore. Mr. Arthur, however, is determined that his picture shall not lack completeness, and he finally adjures the British public to "think of the eight millions of wild men who haunt the woods and hills, of the twenty millions of outcasts whose lot is vile and bitter, of the two or three or four millions of widows brow-beaten and friendless; think of the houses of thirty nations where no common board* is spread, and no fond circle twined."

I dare say that such of the public as may think it worth while to read this book are by this time as tired of Mr. Arthur as I am; but I have thought it worth while to notice his statements, not because they are his, but because they are fair samples of a number of those ridiculous pictures with which our missionaries delight to fill the minds of the people in England.

It is a sad thing to have to deprive missionary writers

* Nothing aggrieves our missionaries so much as the absence of this "common board," and the fact of the men eating first, and the women and children last, has commonly been brought forward as a proof of the degradation of the women of India. But a little reflection will show that this habit came naturally about in consequence of the women of the family being the cooks, and from their not allowing people of inferior caste to touch their food, or, in other words, from their having no servants. The same sort of thing may often be witnessed in this country in the houses of the poor, where the mother of the family prefers to get the males their meal first, and then sits down to hers afterwards.

of any part of their stock in trade, but I cannot close this allusion to these gentlemen without intrenching a little further on those sensational pictures which have led the people in England to suppose that suttees were common from one end of India to the other. The fact is that they were little known or heard of south of the Nerbudda; and Malcolm, writing in 1826, says that "suttees have decreased and, indeed, are almost unknown in many of the southern parts of India, and in the country of the Deccan, Malwa, and Hindustan they are of rare occurrence." Buchanan, who travelled through a great part of South India in about 1800, speaks, to the best of my recollection, of the institution having gone quite out of fashion; and in Wilks I can find no allusion to sutteeism at all. Another favourite article in stock is a description of the Toda funeral rite, which I have described in my last chapter; and in Perceval's "Land of the Veda" there is a ridiculous engraving or woodcut of men and women quietly touching noses amidst their half-wild buffaloes, which are dashing about in all directions to escape from the natives who are pursuing them; and, to complete the absurdity of the picture, there is a Toda aiming a blow with the sharp edge of an axe at the head of one of the buffaloes.

Turning now to works of a different character, we shall find the stream still running on, and the same sort of tone prevailing, and I accordingly give a few instances, which sufficiently indicate the continuance of those evil reports which our countrymen still delight to circulate. Major Evans Bell tells us that "no native is capable of feeling gratitude, and that feeling is unknown even amongst themselves. What do you expect," he asks, "from people who don't know what gratitude means?

Asiatics," he continues, "are cowardly and yet ferocious; they have no reasoning powers, but a great deal of low cunning." Then the author of "Scinde, or the Unhappy Valley," tells us "that Orientals have an utter inability to conceive what honesty means—to enter even into the lowest sense of the apothegm that honesty is the best policy. Nothing," he continues, "poses, puzzles, and perplexes an Eastern fellow-creature, reasonable and reasoning being as he is allowed to be, half so much as fair dealing." Captain Brinkman, in his "Rifle in Cashmere," says that "a native cannot speak the truth about the simplest matter," and further observes that "in moral character the Hindoo is certainly to be pitied; but take away lying, cheating, selfishness, and conceit, and they will not be found to be so bad after all." Finally, we have Sir William Denison, of Madras, who seems to form a fitting climax to the list of those who have indulged themselves in re-echoing the spirit of so many that have gone before. "The longer I stay here," says Sir William, "the lower opinion of the native character do I form. I cannot trust the Indians. Their bad qualities come before me constantly, and I seldom hear of their good ones. They are sneaking, abject slaves, bitter tyrants and cowards, with marvellous little honesty. They are cowards, and consequently liars without hesitation—in fact, instinctively." They are "the cowardly Hindoos who have made for themselves the bed on which they have been lying for the last two thousand years." To some it may seem that I attach perhaps an undue importance to what people term these ephemeral publications of the day; but these are the works that are mainly read, that take their places in the circulating library, and so influence a far

greater number of individuals than the well-considered and accurate conclusions of men like Elphinstone. For one man who reads the opinions of that just and able man, there are hundreds who will read the opinions expressed by the sporting authors, and by men like the author of "Viceregal Life;" and I therefore think that it is of very great importance to at least attempt to arrest that flood of vilification which tends to prejudice the minds of our countrymen against the peoples of India. If our countrymen were only let alone, they would form their opinions of the different peoples as they found them; but, in consequence of this unqualified and indiscriminating tone of abuse, Englishmen go to India prepared to find everything that is bad in human nature, and nothing that is good. And the general result is, that they do find everything that is bad and nothing that is good, and there is nothing more to be said. Now, as regards the expression of opinion on the natives of India, I do not think we have any right to expect that people should repress the conclusions they have formed, and I certainly have no wish that they should do so. But I think that every one who is interested in India, or who has the slightest interest in humanity at large, has a right to urge, by every means in his power, the advisability of requiring detailed evidence in support of all opinions that may tend to prejudice our countrymen against the people they have undertaken to govern; and I think that the public in general have a right to expect that, for the future, experience and evidence shall be carefully limited to those classes and peoples amongst whom the experience has been acquired. The expression of such conclusions, coming from an obscure individual like myself, will,

of course, have little weight; nor, if they had weight, would they materially affect the matter in the long run. The people in whose hands the matters mainly lie are the reviewers of books, and I accordingly appeal to them to do what they can in future to put down all unfavourable statements as regards the people of India which have not been carefully ascertained, or which, being carefully ascertained, are applied broadcast over the length and breadth of that vast assemblage of peoples to whom we have given the common name of Hindoos.

Having thus glanced at the opinions expressed by various authors, I shall now offer a few remarks as to the opinions current in Anglo-Indian society; inquire into the causes that have given rise to them; and indicate the sources from which alone correct opinions can probably be derived.

From all that I have heard expressed and have been able to learn in various ways, I have come to the conclusion that very few Anglo-Indians are to be found who would give at all a favourable account of the Indians. Many are of opinion, as I have heard an Indian judge of long experience assert, that their character is wholly unfathomable, and that the longer you live in India, the more puzzled you become; and the majority of our countrymen hold the character of the natives to be, on the whole, about the worst of any people in the world. In support of these assertions I do not think it necessary to enter into any details, or to supply any evidence, as the written opinions previously quoted are a sufficient indication of the general feeling. It may be as well, however, to turn the attention of the reader to a short consideration of the circumstances and

occupations of our countrymen in India, in order to show that Englishmen have every opportunity of seeing most of the bad and none of the good qualities of the Indians, and that the formation of the unfavourable opinions so frequently expressed, though aided considerably by writers on India, has been, in no small degree, the natural result of the circumstances of the situation.

Anglo-Indian society may be divided roughly into five classes:—Firstly, the civilians and soldier-civilians; secondly, the officers of our Indian army; thirdly, the missionaries of all denominations; fourthly, the merchants; and, fifthly, the employers of labour, as planters, railway engineers, and contractors.

In the term civilians I include all the officials who conduct the law, revenue, and police business of India; and it is plain that the gentlemen thus engaged in the administration of the country must have a large and daily experience of the Indians. But it requires but a moment's consideration to see that this experience, however extensive, is, from its necessarily one-sided character, but little to be relied on. For, if we want to acquire a knowledge of diseased conditions and abnormal growths, we go to a hospital; and, in the same way, if we want to acquire a knowledge of perverted nature and abnormal developments, we go to the courts into which all the moral sewerage of the human animal is naturally poured. And had the officials who in this country administer the law and collect the income-tax no experience of Englishmen other than that derived from points of official contact, it is evident that their opinion as to the character of the natives of these islands would not stand very high. The experience of

a civilian, then, though extensive and complete as far as it goes, gives only an experience of the natives under the worst conditions, and, beyond that, his opportunities of observation cannot extend. If, therefore, a civilian ever arrives at a fair estimate of native character, it must be by some process other than that of his own experience. In a word, the general result comes to this, namely, that those who judge by their own experience must necessarily form a bad opinion of natives, and those who have the sense to value their experience at its proper worth, come to no definite conclusion at all, but simply content themselves with asserting, as did the judge I have alluded to (a very sharp, intelligent observer), that they know nothing whatever about them.

As for the officers of our native troops, who simply go from the mess-room to the parade-ground and back again, it seems almost superfluous to point out that their opportunities of observation do not extend to any side of native character whatever. Such a thing as intercourse between them and the native officers of their regiment cannot and does not exist, and the remainder of their experience can only be acquired amongst the native servants and the scum of our cantonments. Under these circumstances there is nothing left for these gentlemen to conclude but that the natives of India are a miserable set of people, who all come under the general head of "nigger." But, independently of the absence of opportunities of observation, there is another cause for the general low estimate of the above-mentioned classes, and a cause which, strange to say, seems to have been commonly overlooked. I allude to the fact that our civilians and officers in India carry to that country an ethical standard immeasurably higher than can be

found in any quarter of the globe. Drawn from gentl men's families, and associating entirely with gentleme they have naturally high principles, and they lea England too young to have experienced the fact that tl bulk of the English nation has a very different mor standard from theirs. Tried by an ordinary Lond standard, the inhabitants of our Indian towns and ca tonments would not, I am afraid, stand very high, ar the reader can readily realise the result when the classes are tried by the standard of an English gentlema

Turning next to the English merchants of the town we shall find here that their experience must necessari be of the most limited nature. Few speak the nati languages, and those who do are seldom inclined, aft a hard day's work at the desk, to do anything but reti to dinner, a cheroot, and bed.

The missionaries, one would suppose at first sigh ought to know more about the natives; but these ge tlemen have proved by their works that they have mac but a poor use of such opportunities of observation they had, and lead one to the conclusion, in short, th it would be useless to look for an opinion of any valu in that quarter.

Lastly, we come to the employers of labour; and these, the engineers and railway officials and contractor being brought into contact with only one, or, at th most, two classes, have mostly the experience alone master and servant. As to my own class—the coffe planters of the South, the tea-planters of Assam, Cacha and Darjeeling, and the indigo-planters of Norther India—they are, for the most part, to be classed simply employers of labour; and I conceive that, wit but few exceptions, it is to the indigo-planters alon

we have to look for anything approaching to an extensive experience of native character as it exhibits itself in its most natural form; for they, and they alone, seem to have been mixed up with the rural classes in the daily transactions of life, in buying and selling, borrowing and lending, as landlord and tenant, and as persons frequently called in to act as arbitrators in all manner of disputes and differences. But it unfortunately happens that those most competent to offer an opinion have told us nothing, while by some extraordinary—or perhaps ordinary—circumstance, we have a copious supply of writing from those who have had the smallest opportunities of arriving at a fair estimate of natives. Civilians, clergymen, officers, and missionaries have enlarged most fully on native character, but we have literally not a line from an observer who has been thrown into close contact with the rural classes as regards all the transactions and intercourse that take place amongst neighbours. There are people who have seen the Indians as litigants and criminals, as traders, as labourers or sepoys, and as people who obstinately refuse to turn Christians, and they have told us what they know, or, at least, what they have imagined. There are a few who have lived amongst the natives as nearly as possible as neighbours, who have told us nothing; and thus the matter stands.

If the preceding observations are well founded, it follows, as a matter of course, that the history of the characteristics of the various peoples of India has yet to be written. Now, as a matter of general interest, and for the sake of the general reader, it is plain that the extension of our information as regards the Indians is a matter deserving of considerable attention; but when

we come to consider the subject with reference to o
rule in India it is difficult to exaggerate its importan
For it cannot be doubted that the better we understa
them, the more we shall like and be liked by them, an
as a necessary consequence, the more easily shall we
able to govern them and extend our civilisation. An
turning our attention from the general to the particul
we shall at once see from another point of view t
importance of diffusing correct information as regar
the Indians. Nor need I employ much time in showi
that the opening of the Suez Canal, and the conseque
cheapening of passages to India, will produce
immense effect on the intercourse between the tv
countries; and that the extension of railways, cana
and irrigation works, tea, coffee, and cinchona plantin
must in a few years bind India to England with som
thing more nearly approaching to intercourse than h
ever existed between the two countries. Yearly, mo
and more English will go to India to push forward the
undertakings; year by year will further discoveries
made, and new sources of enterprise be brought
light. And when we for one moment consider the
facts, need I waste more words in showing the impo
tance of collecting and putting together information
such a form that it will be an easy matter for any o
who has to do with the natives to understand them
the outset?

Enough has now been said to show the necessity
at least endeavouring to lay before the public su
information as will tend to smooth the way towards
better understanding between the English and t
Indians, and in the previous chapter I have given t
result of my own experience. How little or how mu

my observation may apply to natives in other parts of India I am, of course, unable to say; for, as regards the remainder of India, I conceive myself to be in as much need of information as are the English readers I am now addressing. What I have presented is merely a minute analysis of a very diminutive section of India, and it must be considered as a trifling instalment of what, I have no doubt, will one day be completely laid before the public. But because my section is a small one, and lying in an out-of-the-way, and, till within the last fifteen years, an almost unknown corner of the province of Mysore, it must not therefore be concluded that my experience is unimportant. On the contrary, were it in my power to write an account of the characteristics of the various peoples of India, I should deem it advisable to commence with Munzerabad, or with some district closely analogous, as a natural basis. For, as has been well remarked by the lamented author of the "History of Civilization in England" (see vol. ii. chap. i.), it is plain "that the best way of arriving at great social truths is by first investigating those cases in which society has developed itself according to its own laws, and in which the governing powers have least opposed themselves to the spirit of their times." In studying, therefore, the history of the Indians, we should, I conceive, give priority to those peoples who from their situation have been least interfered with. Having thus ascertained the Indian character in its normal state, we should then proceed in order to those countries where it has been more interfered with, till we reach those districts where misgovernment and oppression, and the tyranny of race over race, have produced their natural effect on the character of the people. Unfortunately for

the Indians and for ourselves, our method has been exactly the reverse of this. We have commenced our experience in those parts where the people have been most interfered with, and where the most disagreeable characteristics have consequently been developed; and this circumstance has caused us to conclude that the character of the people is irretrievably bad, and that when we fall in with the honester people of the hills, they are what they are by race; that, in fact, they are a breed apart, and that when discussing native character they should, from their numerical insignificance, be entirely overlooked, or placed in a separate category. Now, to use the words of Mill ("Principles of Political Economy," vol. i. p. 390), "Of all vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent national differences." Now, while admitting the general truth of this proposition, I will not go so far as to assert that there is no inherent difference in the African negro, for there seems to me to be a fatal weakness of character about the negro which no influences seem capable of eradicating, and this seems to me to be the only instance existing in the world of anything like inherent natural difference. But, with that exception, we may assume the proposition to be incontrovertibly true; and it therefore follows that where we find good, indifferent, and bad characteristics most prevalent, they are entirely owing to natural causes and to the force of circumstances, and to nothing else whatever. And the practical importance of bearing this fact constantly in mind cannot be too persistently urged; for, by keeping it ever before the attention, the dislike

caused by coming in contact with people of inferior moral qualities will be turned into pity, and one is ready to reflect on what would have been the probable result if a white man had been brought up under the depressing causes and influences which result in inferior characteristics. And here it may be useful to turn the attention of the reader to an illustration which may be found close to his own door, and which shows most conclusively how accurately the same causes produce the same results under an Eastern or a Western sky. I recollect that it was asserted in Parliament some years ago that the Irish are very like the Hindoos in many respects; and in one respect, at least, the similarity is very striking, for the flattery which the lower classes of the Irish so much indulge in has an exact counterpart amongst the natives of the plains of India. Nor have we far to go for an explanation of this fact. Both peoples have been oppressed and kicked about, and overridden in some way or other, and a tendency to flatter and please people stronger than themselves was thus naturally developed. The Scotch, again, as I think is pretty well known, are not at all given to anything of the kind, and, in short, they are extremely matter of fact, and consequently are apt to make observations which are sometimes far from palatable. Nor need we read much of the history of Scotland to discover the reasons of a character so opposite to the Irish having been developed. Turning now to India, we shall find in Munzerabad some characteristics which are as like those that have been developed in Scotland as eggs are to eggs, and the following rather amusing instance will serve to illustrate my meaning.

Some years ago, on my return to Munzerabad from

England, I fell in with a worthy middle-aged Munzerabad farmer, who seemed very glad to see me. He saluted me with "Salaam, Wisdom;" and I returned the salutation, and made the usual inquiry after his house-people. He then asked me if I was well, and, after a long look at me, said, "You're looking very old," to which I replied by observing that I certainly was not quite so young as I used to be. Continuing his observation, he said, "And besides, you're not at all good-looking now: formerly you used to be handsome—now you're not at all handsome." Anything more unlikely, as coming from a Hindoo, it would be difficult to conceive; but a blunt expression of what they think is as natural a consequence of the circumstances and history of the farmers of Munzerabad as is the oily address of the Hindoo of the plains natural to his—as strictly natural as the blunt address of the Scotchman and the insinuating manner of the Irish.

And here I feel that, were I writing for the learned, or even for people of a fair amount of reading and observation, an apology would be required for thus enforcing such plain and self-evident propositions. But I address myself to the illiterate rather than to the learned. I wish, in fact, to take the public at the lowest rather than the highest. My principal aim is to attract the attention of the lower stratum of the English in India—of our railway mechanics, overseers, clerks, and, in short, the whole of that useful class which occupies the minor post in all our Indian undertakings. I wish to place before these classes facts and observations which I venture to think will make them regard the Indians from a philosophical and discriminating point of view. Such being at least one of the prin-

cipal objects of this book, the general reader will readily understand my entering into details, and enforcing propositions which, to the upper educated classes, are the veriest truisms.

In concluding this chapter it may be useful to cast a backward look, just to see what we have been talking about in these four-and-thirty pages, and to place the leading points, if possible, still more clearly before the reader. In the first place, then, we pointed out the difficulties of arriving at correct conclusions regarding the various peoples of India, and, while doing so, endeavoured to indicate the harm that must arise from writers saying anything to prejudice our countrymen against the races they have undertaken to govern. We then said that, when any two peoples have a mutual dislike to one another, and where that dislike coexists with imperfect information, the most ridiculous assertions are readily made, and as readily credited; and, as an illustration of that tendency, we pointed to the notions regarding the French which were once current amongst the English, and of those notions which the French for long entertained as regards our habits and customs. We next proceeded to take stock of some of the published opinions of Europeans who had passed observations on the character of the Indians, and, in the first place, glanced at the contents of the letters of two Danish missionaries who went to India in 1705. In these letters we found many things which spoke alike well for the natives and the missionaries; and I may again remind the reader that the latter found that the Malabarians, with all their strange fancies, led, in the opinion of the missionaries, "a very quiet, honest, and virtuous life." We then turned our attention to the long stream

of evil reports which our countrymen of all classes had so industriously circulated, from the publication of Holwell, in 1766, down to that of Sir William Denison, in 1869, and saw reason to conclude that this indiscriminating tone of abuse had been productive of much harm, and required to be summarily checked. And we particularly noticed the tendency that missionaries had to draw unfavourable inferences as regards the morality of the natives, on account of the existence of obscene mythological rites.* We endeavoured to trace the origin of these rites, and it was clearly pointed out that the existence of such rites was no proof whatever of impure national morals; and, subsequently, sufficient evidence was adduced to show that the domestic morality of the Indians was the very opposite of what many writers had alleged it to be. We next turned our attention to the opinions of natives current in Indian society, and endeavoured to trace the causes that led to the generally low estimate of native character. We saw that all the official classes, seeing none of the good and all of the bad qualities of the Indians, have naturally come to very unfavourable conclusions. We saw that the officers in the Indian army had no opportunities of observation whatever, and that, as regards other classes of Europeans in India, it was probable that, with a few exceptions, the indigo-planters were the only people who had an extensive experience of the natives as regards the transactions of every-day life. We also

* Whatever may have existed formerly, I confess that I am extremely doubtful as to the present existence of obscene mythological rites, and I have never been able to obtain any evidence of such practices in Mysore. Inquiries recently instituted by me have only been successful in discovering one instance of anything approaching to them. This occurs in Munzerabad, at the village of Wongoor, where the women dance the Segee feast quite naked. But no man is allowed to witness this, as a screen is put up for the occasion.

noticed that whereas the official classes and the missionaries had written much on native life, not a line had been written by those who had the best opportunities of observation; and that, in short, the history of the characteristics of the peoples of India had yet to be written. We then saw the importance, when drawing attention to any general social truths, of commencing first of all with the people who had been least interfered with, and, from that base, advancing to the consideration of those whose development had been altered and bent by the action of tyrannical rulers; and we saw that our countrymen, from having been brought in contact with those most interfered with, had concluded that the national character was irretrievably bad, instead of being the result of natural causes. And, in alluding to the common method of escaping from social problems by attributing features of character to inherent natural difference, we showed that, just as regular causes have formed the very opposite characteristics of the Scotch and Irish, so, in India, similar causes have produced some races of a blunt and matter-of-fact character, and others full of an insinuating flattery. And, finally, we concluded generally that the characteristics of the people vary with their circumstances, just as we commonly see in other quarters of the globe.

CHAPTER V.

BRIBERY.

In commencing to consider the history of bribery, it is natural to notice that institution as it exists in other countries, and especially in Russia, where it seems to be as firmly rooted as it is in India. And, in mentioning Russia and bribery in the same breath, it is impossible to resist quoting Krilof's admirable fable of the "Marmot and the Fox," which certainly ought (if indeed it has not) to have a counterpart in India. "'And where are you off to in such a hurry?' said the Marmot to the Fox. 'Why, my dear friend, you'd hardly believe it,' replied the Fox; 'but I have been falsely accused and dismissed as an extortioner. You know I was judge of the poultry-yard, and so constant were my exertions, that I was often kept awake all night. And yet, after all my trouble, just look at the result. Now, I appeal to you, did you ever see me do wrong?' 'Well, no, friend, no,' said the Marmot, 'I never have, but I have often remarked that there was some down on your muzzle.'" Now, the history of bribery in Russia and in India is exactly similar, and Krilof's fable, therefore, precisely illustrates the nature of the evidence we have for asserting its universal existence in both countries.

You may see nothing, and know nothing, but there is always that awkward down on the muzzle.

The institution of bribery may be briefly described as a system by which the officials of the State augment inadequate salaries by a direct tax on those who are unfortunately compelled to call in the action of the law, or who happen to be involved in any transaction where the service of a Government agent can possibly be brought to bear. The existence of this accursed evil necessarily operates on the whole society to an extent which requires no small effect of the imagination to realise. And the general effect may be briefly summed up by asserting that the institution of bribery tends to make all men in their relations to the State both liars and rascals, though in the relations of private life they may be honest and trustworthy. That these consequences must inevitably ensue we know perfectly well from our general knowledge of human nature; but I think it will not be altogether superfluous if I direct the reader's attention more particularly, and with some detail, to the result of bribery in Russia. And in taking my illustrations from that country, I do not think I can do better than quote the experience of a gentleman who wrote a very interesting article on Russia in the October number of *Fraser's Magazine* in the year 1863.

"The present state of the Russian Empire," we are told, "offers, perhaps, the most extraordinary example of bribery and corruption, from the highest to the lowest, ever furnished by history; the system is so firmly rooted that it is quite an understood, a recognised thing—what the Americans would call 'a national institution.'

"An individual in the Government service, if asked if

his place is a good one, will unblushingly answer, 'Why, yes; the salary, it is true, is small, but the revenue is good,' meaning that plenty of forced fees are to be had, or certain direct plunder. This is so notorious that some of the most eminent Russian writers have exposed it in prose and verse—even on the stage—to no effect: the Emperors themselves have frequently acknowledged the evil, as well as their inability to put a stop to it; nay, they have even connived at it. One case of this kind is very interesting, and serves to illustrate the fact. I can vouch for the truth of it, having been acquainted with the family: a friend of theirs related the story to me.

"A gentleman of German origin, who assisted in the education of the Emperors Alexander and Nicholas, being no longer required in that capacity, was, as a recompense for his services, named director, or chief of the custom-house at Odessa, on the Black Sea, that port being at that period declared to be a free port. The Emperor Alexander, who was much attached to his tutor, told him that he expected he would write to him, and that in case he required any aid, not to fail to do so. This gentleman established himself at Odessa, but as his family increased, he found himself, after some years, with twelve children, and that his pay did not suffice to maintain them. In this dilemma he wrote to the Emperor, stating that he could no longer live on the pay his place procured him, on account of his numerous family, and beseeched to have another place with a greater salary. The answer was brief, to the effect that the Emperor was sorry that he had suffered in a pecuniary way, but that he could not do better for him than to advise that he studied better than hitherto the advantage of his

present employ. The good, right-minded German, as he really was, could not understand this letter; and in his distress applied to a friend, his countryman, a merchant of the town, who, laughing, told him, 'Why, my good fellow, I and others have often given you hints to the same effect, which you never would take. It means simply this: study to make as much money as you can, which your position as chief gives you fine chances of doing.'

"He did study effectually; for, although he really was a good and honourable man at heart, he went with the stream, made a fortune, and when he died left his family in possession of certain large houses, warehouses, and manufactories in the town of Odessa."

Further on in the same article, the writer, after commenting on the bribery that went on in the police department, gives us the result that had been obtained by the efforts at reform. "During the last eighteen months," he writes, "I have traversed Russia from St. Petersburg to Odessa, and again down the Volga as far as Nejuy Novgorod, remained for weeks in many towns, had intimate relations with all those best informed, and found that the general opinion is, that the augmentation in number of persons employed, as well as addition of salary, has tended to no useful end; luxury and extravagance increase, honesty does not so; and there are no hopes of amelioration under the present system."

I have now given the reader a fair illustration of the state of things that must exist in a country where bribery is thoroughly naturalised; and in "Russia, by a Recent Traveller," are to be found further instances which tend to bring out, if possible, still more clearly,

the evils arising from a universal system of corruption.

Turning now for one moment to England, where, I believe, official bribery no longer exists, we shall find in the history of our elections sufficient proofs of that irresistible desire for gain which so readily silences scruples in every quarter of the globe. And accordingly we find, in Charles Knight's "Early Reminiscences," that at Windsor "corruption was an open and almost legitimate trade, but that, in spite of this laxity of political morals, the people were, for the most part, of honourable private character." We see, also, by the history of the Beverley elections, that, by the evidence brought before the commissioner, no exposure hurts a briber's credit, or makes his neighbours think less well of him, notwithstanding that to be a successful briber requires that a man should, for the time, stoop to turning himself into an ants' nest of lies and impositions.

Numerous instances could, of course, be added to those I have quoted, but those mentioned are quite sufficient to illustrate the general fact, that wherever dishonesty pays, dishonesty will prevail. They also illustrate the general truth that honesty and dishonesty can flourish side by side, and that, in short, these opposite principles may be found fully developed in the same people. To infer, therefore, that because people are liars and rascals in one respect, they must therefore be so in all the relations of life, is an evident absurdity. Indeed, the very mention of the possibility of any one doing so is only to be justified by the fact that people in India are very apt to draw their conclusions as to the character of the natives from a consideration of the diseases incidental to the situation, instead of from a general view of

all the points that ought to be taken into consideration. While, however, broadly stating the absurdity of such a method of arriving at conclusions, it must not, therefore, be supposed that I mean to assert that bribery has not affected the private character of the people; for it has undoubtedly encouraged the development of disregard for truth, general cunning, and habits of cautious reticence. The last-named quality, indeed, is developed to such an extent, that it is extremely difficult for any European, whether he be an official or not, to know what is going on amongst the people about him. The precautions of the natives are, indeed, so effectual, that, at a time when the grossest corruption existed in Munzerabad, an officer of the commission, a man of long experience, told me that he thought the system of bribery was fast dying out, if, indeed, it was not already almost quite extinct. Nor is it to be wondered at that such ignorance prevails. After a five years' residence amongst the people, and in such utter solitude that I had often no chance of speaking my own language for weeks together, I knew no more as to the bribery that went on than I did after I had lived twelve months in the country. I knew, of course, by the down on the muzzles of the official foxes, and by general report, that such a system must exist; but it was not until I had acquired the entire confidence of the people, till they knew that I would keep my information to myself, and till my operations became more varied and extended, that I acquired any positive knowledge on the subject. But the knowledge, though late, came at last, and then were made known to me the passive resistance of the native officials, their determination to give nothing for nothing, the necessary connivance of the people, and the height to

which the machinery of bribery can be developed when, for thousands of years, it has been a national institution.

I shall now give the reader a brief account of two of the many cases of bribery that came within my own experience. The first is an instance of the passive resistance type, and in the second I unwittingly advanced a large proportion of the money that was needed to defeat the ends of justice.

Many years ago a well-known farmer in my neighbourhood, a very determined, plucky sportsman, applied for a piece of jungle, for the purpose of planting it with coffee. We had often been out shooting together, and as I was willing to do my friend a good turn, I told him not to pay the usual bribes, and that I would get him his grant for nothing. When next at the head-quarters of the division, I accordingly mentioned the matter to the assistant-superintendent, and saw the grant handed over to the parish tax-gatherer (who happened to be there too) for delivery to my sporting friend. The delivery of the document was, however, delayed, under one pretext or another, till the superintendent who had issued the grant left the country. There now seemed little chance of getting the document without paying for it. But I still told my friend to hold out; and in about a year I took the opportunity of urging the matter again when the chief superintendent was on his annual tour, and to make sure, the grant was this time handed to my friend in my presence. I thought we had finally gained the day; and, indeed, for some years my friend "slept in all the security of undisputed possession." At last, however, in consequence of some new regulations being made in reference to coffee lands, the old grants were recalled and new ones issued. My friend's

was, of course, recalled amongst the number; and a fresh superintendent having by that time arrived, a new grant was, of course, forgotten to be issued, and therefore the difficulties were as great as ever. Eventually my friend got his grant, but it took me at least seven years to get the better of the native officials. A fee of about £2 would have satisfied them and saved us a world of trouble; and, after an experience of a few more cases of the passive-resistance type, I used to advise my native friends to pay the bribes and be done with it.

The next case I have to relate was a curious one in itself, and was no doubt amusing to my native neighbours, though it placed me in rather an awkward dilemma.

When a certain native merchant was ascending one of the passes which lead from the low country into the Mysore province, his servant decamped, and took with him certain property belonging to his master, which consisted of money and jewels to a considerable amount. Leaving the main road, the thief travelled on across country, putting up at the house of any farmer who would take him in for the night. One evening he arrived at the house of a very respectable family with whom I had been long acquainted, and obtained his usual night's lodging. On the following morning a nephew of the head of the family, who happened to be on a visit, said that he would show the merchant's servant the way to the next village, and the youngest son of the family, a lad of about fifteen, went ostensibly for company. The nephew in question, I had reason to know, was a rascal, and I have little doubt that he persuaded his boy-cousin to join in the plot. But however that might have been, they proceeded to relieve the thief of all the valuables he had stolen from the

merchant. They then hid the plunder in the jungle, the nephew went to his house, and the boy-thief, his cousin, went home, and immediately divulged the whole affair to his father. The original thief was shortly after apprehended, told his story to the authorities, and pointed out the people whom he alleged had robbed him in turn. The father of the boy-thief was, of course, anxious to save the credit of his family, and to get the boy, who was his favourite son, out of the scrape, and he therefore immediately set to work to raise money. The old man accordingly arrived at my house one morning, and said that he would be glad if I would lend him £30, as he had particular reasons for requiring an immediate supply of money. I thought nothing of the request, as the natives frequently borrowed money from me for short intervals, and I from them, and I at once lent him the amount he wanted. The very same day I had certain intelligence of the whole affair, and found, of course, that the money was to be employed in bribing the native officials. My character as a person interested in the case seemed now to be fairly established, and, much to my annoyance, a tenant of mine turned up the following day, and requested that I would be good enough to advance a further sum to the man who, I had reason to suspect, was at the bottom of the whole affair. But, as the reader may suppose, this proposition was somewhat summarily rejected.

In the course of a few days more one of the native officials paid me a visit, when, of course, the object of his calling was never alluded to. Before leaving, however, he said that he would much like to inspect my guns, and would be glad if my native clerk would show them to him. They then adjourned to the next room,

in which my guns were kept, and, after a short inspection, rejoined me. Shortly afterwards my clerk communicated to me the intentions of the officials, who were anxious to hear whether I would be likely to interfere in any way. Their proposal was simple. The merchant was to have his property restored, the original thief was to be left to his fate, and the robbers of the thief were of course to be got off. The situation was awkward; but the affair was, after all, no business of mine; and I therefore said that as long as the merchant got his property again, I did not particularly care what they did.

The mysterious way in which the property was eventually said to have been discovered was the joke of the country-side. It was said that a party of the natives were out shooting one day; that one of them came upon signs which showed that some one had been sleeping all night in the jungle, and that another of the party accidentally happening to turn up some dead leaves, the stolen property was thus luckily discovered. There could be no doubt of the rest. The thief had hidden the property himself, and, with the view of lessening his guilt in the eyes of the authorities, had falsely accused these unfortunate lads. Whether that account exactly was the one given in for the benefit of the English judge I do not know, as I left the country before the case came on for trial; but some such solution must have been given, for the pair were duly tried and acquitted.

The two preceding cases are sufficient to give an idea of the passive denial of justice, and the ease with which its perversion may be insured where cases are once in the hands of the officials. To multiply such instances would be at once tedious and useless, and the cases given are not meant to prove, but merely to illustrate the facts.

Nor, indeed, to an intelligent observer of human nature is any detailed evidence necessary at all; for a consideration of the history and circumstances of a people is quite sufficient to enable any one to anticipate the nature of their acts, as accurately as a knowledge of the laws which govern the animal and vegetable world tells us where to expect health and where disease; and however much they may try to shut their eyes, our English officials must be aware of the bribery that is necessarily prevalent. In spite, however, of all the advances of reason, the human animal will ever insist on scratching at symptoms instead of treating the causes which result in diseased action. Pre-eminently, indeed, has the Government of India pursued the plan of devising cures for symptoms. Instead of diverting to the extremities that energy and activity which superabound at the centre of the system, it has merely been diligent in piling act upon act, and law upon law, with the view of putting down corruption and securing an improvement in the administration of justice. But the seats of diseased action have been left entirely untouched. And, as if to be quite consistent in its system, the Government seems to carry into the treatment of the vegetable world its invariable method. Some years ago the coffee-plants throughout Southern India were attacked to an alarming extent by an insect called the Borer, and, urged on by the outcry of some ignorant men, the Government in its wisdom sent out a medical officer to see if something could not be done to arrest the ravages of this insect, and to devise methods for poisoning or destroying it in some way or other. But neither the Government nor the men who called on it seem to have asked what caused the Borer. The fact was that, so far

from its being an extraordinary visitation, it was the natural result that any one could have anticipated from starved soils and dry seasons, and the non-appearance of some such insect would have been contrary to all the laws which govern the vegetable world. A starved soil and dry season produced a dry, sapless, sickly tree, and the result was an enormous breeding-ground for insects that live by and in dried-up wood. To direct an attack on the insects, instead of the circumstances that produced the insects, was, of course, manifestly absurd; and yet I believe that it will be found that this is an exact illustration of the methods our Indian governors usually adopt in attempting to remedy the evils that are forced on their attention. And here I cannot help pointing for one moment to the curious analogy that exists between our attempts at government in India and our former attempts at governing in England. It is, of course, entirely foreign to the purposes of this book to enter into such a subject at any length, and I merely glance at one part of the analogy. I mean the general law, or whatever it may be, that impels us first of all to create a state of things which seems to be only made to be pulled in pieces by future legislation. In former days, in England, systems were built up which seemed only constructed with the view of providing legislative work for future generations; and exactly the same state of things is repeating itself in India. Now, the various causes of the ignorant action of our old English politicians are sufficiently understood, and need not, of course, be detailed here. But in India, where there is neither a party to serve nor traditions to influence the work of our governors, the causes of misgovernment are by no means so apparent to people who have not lived amongst

the Indians, and witnessed the practical working of Government enactments. And when we merely take an outside view of the general features of the situation, it seems hard to suppose that so much rottenness should exist within. The officers of the Government, whether civilians or soldier-civilians, are distinguished by an amount of energy, industry, and ability to which I believe it is impossible to find a parallel in the world; and combined with these qualities there is everywhere exhibited a conscientious zeal in promoting in every way the interests of the countries and the welfare of the peoples committed to their charge. The laws, too, on the whole, read uncommonly well, and everything seems so provided for, that it is difficult to imagine how things could possibly be better. But—and it is with real regret I write the word—failure is the only term that can be conscientiously applied to the whole of our system of government. It is indeed a complete failure, and, taking everything into consideration, has failed to answer the purposes of good government, or to attain those ends which it has endeavoured to accomplish. Let us inquire into the principal cause of failure.

I said the principal cause of failure, but I think I should rather have said the cause of failure; for I am unable to assign any other than one which is at all worth noticing. And this cause of failure lies simply and solely in the fact that there is no effectual channel of communication between the people and the Government. Not only, however, are the people entirely unrepresented, and without any means of communicating their wishes to Government, and their opinions as to the working of Government enactments, but, to add to the general confusion, the Government has no means of explaining

the meaning or communicating the very existence of the laws which have been passed. I was never so much struck with the confusion and annoyance that well-intentioned acts cause as I was when I returned to Mysore in 1867. I had been absent from India nearly two years, and the Government, with the view of improving the administration of justice and preventing the increase of litigation, had in the meantime been pleased to extend to the province of Mysore the Indian Registration Act of 1860. By this act all manner of documents were to be registered, and there were provisions of such a nature, and frequently so obscurely worded, that no one, unless skilled in interpreting such enactments, would be at all able to decide as to the exact intention of some of the clauses. For instance, I could not make out whether our coffee grants came under the act, and I accordingly called on the Registrar-General, with a brother planter who was particularly desirous of finding out what the law really was. But we could get no official opinion from the Registrar-General at all, and, as far as I recollect, he seemed to be at variance with the judicial commissioner on one or two clauses of the act. I then observed that it would perhaps be better to go to the judicial commissioner, and hear what he had got to say; but I was told that I might if I liked, but that he would probably not give me an opinion at all. So far, indeed, from being in a position to offer decisive opinions, the Registrar-General seemed rather desirous to hear ours, and, producing the act, he asked us what meaning we attached to such and such clauses. In fact, as a lawyer in Bangalore observed, there was litigation in every line of it. As for the unfortunate natives in the districts, they had never, it seems, even heard of the act. A

superintendent of one of the divisions communicated this fact to the Registrar-General, and told him that, from failing to register, there was now hardly a person who had legalised any documents in his district. The reply was simply that the Act had been duly published in the *Gazette*, and that *ignorantia juris non excusat.**

Equally ignorant, too, are the people of the existence of acts which are entirely suitable to their tastes and habits, and to the general requirements of the country. Some years ago an excellent order was passed in the Mysore province, with the view of encouraging the formation of plantations of timber trees throughout the plains of the table-land. Land was to be granted on the most favourable terms, and every possible encouragement was thought of; but, as no means existed for the diffusion of information, the act remained unknown to those who would gladly have availed themselves of the opportunities it afforded. When travelling from Munzerabad to Bangalore in 1867, I observed that a copy of the order was posted up in the travellers' bungalow, and, in the course of a conversation with the farmer who supplied bullocks to drag my coach to the next posting stage, I learned that he had never heard of any such order at all. I happened to fall into conversation with him more particularly, because he was an unusually intelligent, well-dressed, well-to-do-looking man. He told me that he was very fond of planting trees, that he had planted a good many of different kinds in his own land, and that he would only have been too glad to take up land for planting, had he known that it was to be had on the terms offered by Government. And if such

* This sounds so like a joke that I must tell the reader that this reply has been printed in one of the Administration Reports. See Appendix A.

ignorance prevails amongst people living close to a high-road, what must be the case with those who live in the remoter villages? Nor need we be at all surprised to find the commissioner of the provinces observing, in his Annual Report, that the favourable terms offered had entirely failed to induce any one to take up land for the formation of plantations. For the fact of the matter is, that orders and acts are published in the *Gazette*, copies are posted up in the court of each country town, and at the travellers' bungalows, where no one is likely to see them, and there the publication ends.

It may seem to the reader that I have travelled considerably away from the subject I am now principally concerned with. But the subject of the diffusion, or rather of the want of diffusion, of information, is intimately connected with bribery, which thrives all the more on account of the ignorance of the people as regards the laws and regulations issued by Government. And it is evidently the interest of the native officials to suppress rather than to diffuse information; for complication and confusion are things which litigation thrives best on, and it therefore follows that new and complicated enactments, combined with inadequate publication, make up exactly that combination which is so admirably adapted to the wants and requirements of the official Hindoo.

I have said that the cause of failure is the want of information, and we have now seen the effects of the absence of any channel of communication leading from the Government to the people. But if the evils arising from the want of means for disseminating information amongst the ruled are conspicuous, the evils of there being no means by which the people can transmit their wishes and opinions to the Government are, if possible,

still more glaring. For it cannot be doubted that our Indian rulers, being animated, as they always are, by the best intentions, would have left unframed many a law and many an enactment that now exists, and would assuredly have governed the country in a way best suited to the tastes and circumstances of the people. As it is, their laws and regulations are a long way in advance of the intelligence, as well as the social and moral condition, of their subjects. And here, of course, it is not at all absolutely essential that we should have recourse to the evidences of experience, for the necessary results of our legislation could be arrived at deductively with almost mathematical accuracy. But it is at least satisfactory to have truths that can be arrived at deductively confirmed and illustrated by the results of experience, and it may not be out of place if I briefly allude to the opinions arrived at in other parts of India.

The first opinion I have to notice is that of Sir Robert Montgomery, from whom the following passage is quoted by Major Evans Bell, in his work of "Our Great Vassal Empire." Says Sir Robert:—

"Our judicial system is most unpopular, with its long delays, its niceties, and complicated system and legal technicalities, and is very costly. It has been prematurely raised to a standard suited to European requirements, and uncongenial to the people, whose simple idea of justice is, that it should be prompt, cheap, and vigorous." And again: "Another cause of popular dissatisfaction is our constant call for witnesses from their remote homes, their delay and their scant compensation, or often no compensation at all." Turning next to the opinion of Mr. H. L. Ashburne, we are told that—

"On the frontier of an ill-governed native state, where

the people are brought more immediately in contact with oppression and misgovernment, our system may have its advocates; but even there, for every instance of insecurity of life and property, the Patels will quote equally distressing cases of respectable families impoverished and ruined by the action of our civil courts, or of notorious murderers let loose on society owing to some legal quibble. Not understanding the stringency of our rules of evidence, they attribute these failures of justice, which are ever becoming more common, to the corruption of the judges." Finally, on the high authority of Mr. C. H. Tucker, we are told that—"Our involved system of technical law leads to endless expense and uncertain litigation, and all these evils are on the increase. Our whole system of law, and government, and education tends to make the natives clever, irreligious, and litigious. No man can trust another. Formerly a verbal promise was as good as a bond. Then bonds became necessary. Now bonds go for nothing, and no prudent banker will lend money without receiving landed property in pledge."

Leaving these conclusions to speak for themselves, I now pass on to offer a few observations which are the result of my own experience. And though that experience has no official authority, it may, considering my opportunities of observation, be regarded as of some value. For I had ample opportunity of observing the working of a Government which was maintained almost, if not quite, on a native model, and I had afterwards an opportunity of observing the effects of the introduction of our regular Anglo-Indian system. For, when I entered Mysore in 1855, I found Sir Mark Cubbon at the head of affairs, and the administration of the province

was advisedly administered in such a way as might easily admit of it being again handed over to a Hindoo ruler. In fact, the whole administration may be said to have been a native one, with the addition—and a very important one of course it was—of two European officials at the head of each of the four divisions into which the province was then divided. On the retirement of Sir Mark Cubbon in 1861, what was called the new *régime* was introduced by Mr. L. Bowring.* And here the reader need not be alarmed. I am too well aware of the horror that most people have of information in general, and Indian information in particular, to venture into any details, into any figures, or into the smallest morsel of statistics. And as for all these things, are they not written in the Administration Reports of Mysore—Reports which many men labour to fill, but which no one reads—Reports which any one may take his fill of who cares to visit the library at the India Offices at Westminster? But what was the general result? Well, shortly, the revenue under the new *régime* remained almost stationary, while the expenses of the administration were nearly doubled. The top of the pyramid, it is true, was heightened, but its base was not widened. The native heads of counties, who decide about half the cases that come before the courts, and whose influence for good or evil is greater than that of all the officials in the province put together, were still of the same corrupt and greedy class. The heads of parishes, too, whose influence in cases is very considerable, remained unchanged. Their temptations were as great, and even greater than before, while their salaries were but little, if at all, augmented. The reforms which, to have been

* See Appendix A.

of the slightest value, should have commenced with the last-named classes, commenced at the other end; the appellate courts were improved, the rules of evidence were, perhaps, more rigidly based on the English model, the reign of Report and Return writing set in with extraordinary vigour, and the number of highly-paid English officials was largely increased. And what, it will naturally be asked, was the result as regards the tax-payers —the farmers of the country? What return did they get from this method of spending their money? Were they better? Were they happier? Was corruption lessened? Was life made more easy, or in any way more agreeable? As far as fell within my own eye, the people were neither better nor happier. Corruption enormously increased. Law was shot down by the cart-load, lawyers packed up their portmanteaus and started for Bangalore, and the bewildered people hardly knew what was going to happen next. And what made the failure additionally vexatious was that reforms were really needed, but that, when they arrived, they were far in advance of the intelligence and the necessities of the people. To take, for instance, the Registration Act previously alluded to. It would have been difficult to conceive an act that was more necessary, or one from which more beneficial effects could possibly accrue. And if that act had been introduced gradually, neither confusion nor annoyance could possibly have arisen from it. But the very appearance of "The Registration Manual for Mysore and Coorg," which is now lying on my table, is enough to strike any one with dismay, and I cannot give a better general idea of it than by informing the reader that it consists of 137 pages, with thirty-four lines to a page, and from ten to twelve words to a

line. There are provisions for instruments of which the registration is compulsory, for documents of which the registration is optional, for documents in language not understood by the registering officer, for documents containing interlineations, blanks, erasures, or alterations; and, in order that a person ignorant of the law might be the more effectually taken by surprise, it is enacted that in many of the cases where the registration is optional, a registered shall take effect against an unregistered document. In short, the whole act is one that would perhaps be admirably suited to a country where every man's affairs are in the hands of his legal adviser, and where newspapers are to be found in every village to remind people of what they are or are not to do; but to shoot down such an act into a province like Mysore, or, indeed, into any part of India, is an infliction which of itself more than counterbalances all the petty evils and oppressions of a native state. But enough has now been said to illustrate what I mean by the evils of our system, and opinions from all parts of India amply confirm the conclusions I have come to as to the failure of Government to accomplish the ends it has had in view.*

* If any English statesman wants to comprehend the history of Indian misgovernment; and if any one wishes, in especial, to understand how the greatest financial prosperity and general contentment can be turned in a few short years into a state of things bordering on financial difficulties and general uneasiness, he has only to compare Mysore as it was under Sir Mark Cubbon with the state of that province at the present moment. When Sir Mark Cubbon left office he handed over to his successor a treasury with a clear surplus of between half and three-quarters of a million, which he had saved out of the revenues of the province. A portion of this sum has since been expended in paying the late rajah's debts, and £300,000 was invested in Government funds. How much of that sum has been encroached upon since, I am not in a position to state, but I am informed on the best authority that for the last year or two the government of Mysore has had some difficulty in making its receipts balance its payments.

When we come to inquire what Sir Mark Cubbon was so carefully saving up money for, we shall at once see the difference between Indian statesmanship and

To revert for one moment to this Registration Act. I may remind the reader that I have before said that this act would have been extremely beneficial had it been gradually introduced; and it may be as well to explain what I mean by gradually introducing a law of this kind. In the first place, then, I should have deemed it advisable to familiarise the people with the principle of registration, and with that view I would have selected, say, all documents relating to the transfer of land, and would have had them compulsorily registered; and after a period of, say, six or seven years, I would have extended the order to another, or to several more classes of documents, but only moving so fast as to make sure that a thorough knowledge of the law should accompany its extension. An act might thus be built up by degrees, and in accordance with the wants and intelligence of the people, and all the injustice and rascality arising from the sudden introduction of new enactments might thus, I conceive, be in a great measure, if not entirely, avoided.

Before proceeding to point out measures for the removal of the causes of bribery and the diffusion of

what may be called Indian departmentalism—between a regard to the true interests of the people and a regard to those flimsy attempts at reform which merely scratch up the surface, and squander the resources of the State. Now, I wish it to be clearly understood that I am not speaking by guess and report, but that I am quoting the direct evidence of a gentleman with whom Sir Mark had intimate official and friendly relations, when I state that his favourite object in money-saving was the execution of two large irrigation works, which would have brought in an immense profit to the State. He saw very clearly that the true foundations for the safety of life, the prosperity of the people, and the success of the administration, lay in water, and water, and yet more water. Those who came after thought that the secret of government lay in departments, and departments, and yet more departments. (See Appendix B.)

I am quite aware that Sir Mark's government had its defects, but they were mainly defects which must always exist all over India, and which are unavoidable where you must employ petty native officials. The points to be kept steadily in view are, that Sir Mark's reign was popular, and financially successful.

information amongst the people, I think it may be useful to review, as briefly as possible, at least a portion of the ground we have traversed.

In considering, then, bribery in general, we have glanced at its existence in Russia and in England. We have seen that in all parts of the world where dishonesty pays, dishonesty will prevail; that dishonesty as regards bribery is perfectly compatible with an honourable private character, but that its natural tendency is to develop indifference to truth, general cunning, and a cautious reticence. Pointing out the development of the last quality, we have seen the difficulty that even those who have the best opportunities of observation experience in ascertaining what is going on amongst the people around. Two instances have been given as examples of the operation of bribery; and it has been pointed out that, even without any evidence, a consideration of the antecedents and circumstances of a people would enable any one to conclude deductively that the evils alluded to must exist. We have seen how the want of a channel of intercommunication between the people and the Government has prevented the former from making known their wants, and the latter from comprehending the operation of its enactments. We have seen that though various means have been adopted for the furtherance of pure and speedy justice, the remedies have been addressed to the symptoms rather than the source of the disease. And, finally, glancing at the nature of these remedies, we have seen that, with the best intentions, their tendency is to increase rather than to diminish the causes of bribery.

If the preceding observations are as well founded as I believe them to be, it is plain that any one who takes an

interest in improving the character and increasing the happiness of the peoples of India should, in the first instance, direct his attention to cutting off the source of bribery. Eradicate that, and you will eradicate, I believe, the source of all the lies, all the rascality, all that lures on the stronger to oppress the weaker, all the opportunities for the gratification of private spite and the temptations to illicit gain. These may seem to be extravagant assertions, but I believe they are such as can readily be proved. For, if it can be shown that in the private relations of life, and in spite of the contamination caused by familiarity with deceit, these people amongst whom I have lived are honest and trustworthy, and obliging, good, kindly neighbours, it is plain that, were they not supplied with powerful temptations to act in opposition to their natural instincts, they would exhibit in every respect the good qualities I have found them to possess in their private dealings. Supposing, then, that I was sent to an Indian Parliament as the representative of Munzerabad, before everything—before roads, before education, before the introduction of means for conserving health and curing disease, before every other measure which might be needed for the advancement of the people—I should feel it my duty first of all to direct my attention to the removal of the causes of bribery; or, in other words, to the securing of cheap, pure, and speedy administration of all the transactions which require the intervention of a Government officer. I should urge that, to start on the path of progress with a firm and enduring base, you must commence with those reforms which are not only necessary to the present happiness and comfort of the people, but which may tend to produce in them that solidity and

uprightness of character without which our civilisation in India must ever be, however splendid, but a poor and imperfect fabric. Our roads, our railways, our hospitals, and our irrigation works are splendid signs of civilisation; they are magnificent monuments of the indomitable energy of our race. But all the experience of other nations shows us that nothing can effect permanent good unless the stability of the character of the people is first of all established. That being given, they will rise, slowly it may be, but surely; for the progress being accompanied with an improvement within, we should, by creating an improved national character, provide the natives with something better than merely the external work of energetic men. We should provide them with a prosperity which nothing will ever be able to shake, and eventually with a civilisation which, if not equal to our own, would in all probability be at least a tolerable imitation of it. The eye stretches forward vainly to fix a point or date when such a state of things could possibly come to pass, even if all the reforms which human foresight could devise were this moment brought about. But because the harvest may not be reaped for generations and generations, we must not therefore falter in the work; but, taking a wide and comprehensive view, we should adapt our policy, not only to the present and material welfare of the people, but to providing them with the means of eventually governing themselves. Unless our policy tends to that end our labour will have been in vain, and the history of India must one day be, in some respects at least, merely a repetition of the history of Spain.* In that unfortunate country every-

* *Vide* Buckle's "History of Civilization." It should be added that to this work I am largely indebted.

thing was done that could be done by the hands of able rulers; but when they died and were replaced by incompetent and feeble men, the national fabric fell to pieces as easily as one of those houses which children build with cards. And if ever (and who can affirm that such may not one day be the case?) we are driven from India, the fabric we have built up there will fall as easily. What I have just been stating is nothing new, and must have been foreseen by every one who has thought for one moment on the subject; but, notwithstanding, I have not yet met with any well-defined scheme for effecting such an alteration in the character of the people as will eventually lead to a solid civilisation. We may talk to them, we may preach to them, we may instruct them, we may tell them of the advantages of integrity; we may pierce the country in every direction with roads, and cover it with railways, canals, and irrigation works; we may construct schools of art, open museums, advance learning, build hospitals; we may pass law after law, and pile act upon act, for the benefit of the people and the furtherance of justice; we may fill the upper ranks of the civil service with educated natives; we may do all these things, and add to them all the resources that art and science can command, and yet we shall assuredly find that we shall not have moved the national character one hair's breadth from the point we found it. We shall have secured everything but the character of the people, and that will have remained stationary, in consequence of our having commenced with the crowning points instead of the base of civilisation.

Hitherto our road has been clear. We have seen what, above all things, India requires, and we have seen pretty clearly that our policy can never satisfy her

natural demands. It is easy to find fault; it is not difficult to indicate what is needed; but when I come to consider the methods of remedy, I am filled with doubt, not as to the effects of what I am about to propose, but as to whether better and speedier remedies are not to be found. I cannot, and of course I do not, expect that the suggestions of an obscure individual like myself will meet with much, if any, attention. To offer, indeed, any suggestions at all may seem to many presumptuous; and, with reference to men of Indian experience especially, I feel like a layman in the dark ages who should dare to offer an opinion on ecclesiastical matters. But in these days no man who is in earnest need have any fear of being thought presumptuous by sensible men. The evidence of every witness is worthy of examination. The smallest of people may throw light on a subject, and the expression of their thoughts can at least do no harm. But, independently of these considerations, I boldly assert my right to attention. I have lived amongst these people; I feel sure we understood one another; I have heard the freest expression of their feelings; I know their wants; they were my society; amongst them I had many friends; and, looking back upon my intercourse with the people with feelings at once of pleasure and regret, I feel that I should be ungrateful to men who made my jungle-life a pleasant one if I failed to urge, by every possible means, those reforms which I conceive would be to them of the greatest benefit.

At the commencement of this chapter I defined bribery as a system by which the officials of the State augment inadequate salaries by a direct tax on those who are unfortunately compelled to call in the action of

the law, or who happen to be involved in any transaction where the action of a Government officer can possibly be brought to bear. At first sight it might, therefore, seem that adequate salaries would at once remove that bribery and corruption which are absolutely indispensable where the salaries are insufficient to keep body and soul together. But chronic sores of long standing are not thus to be got rid of; and I may remind the reader that in Russia the experiment of augmented salaries tended to no useful end, and that the effect was found to result, not in an increase of honesty, but in an increase of luxury and extravagance, on the part of the officials. Nor are repressive measures of much more value where, in any line of life, bribery has become thoroughly naturalised. And of this we have an excellent example in the history of English elections. In the last elections more money was spent than ever, and the severe sentences that have subsequently been passed on some of the agents employed will merely result in making bribery more expensive, and throwing it into the hands of a lower class of vote-purchasers. We must, then, at once dismiss the idea that either augmented salaries or repressive measures can ever, by themselves, be of the slightest practical value as regards bribery and corruption in India. And here I am almost inclined to throw down my pen in despair; for, with our accursed English law and English system, we have got the country into such a muddle; we have so increased the facilities for bribery and corruption, by multiplying unnecessarily the occasions for the interference of native officials; we have so weakened our powers of supervision by that horrible vice of Report and Return writing which now chains our civil servants to the desk

from morning to night;* we have given, in short, by all these, and by every other conceivable method, such an impetus to bribery and corruption, that even to think of attempting to effect any reform as regards this huge social canker is enough to turn one sick. I shall, therefore, get rid of the remainder of this chapter as fast as possible, and weary myself and the reader (if, indeed, a reader can be found for such a subject) no longer with remarks which will no more affect our Indian rulers than, to borrow from Sydney Smith, stroking the dome of St. Paul's would affect the Dean and Chapter.

What I have to propose with the view of cutting off, or at least of materially diminishing, the causes of bribery, I now proceed to state as briefly as possible. These projected remedial measues are:—

1. The invariable employment of a punchayet,† to be selected from men of the locality.

2. The settlement of each case locally and speedily.

3. An alteration in our English law of evidence.

4. The raising of the pay and qualifications of amildars, or law and revenue heads of counties; the regular promotion of men who have been amildars; and, in short, the holding out of every possible encouragement to men of this position, who have more of real power for good or evil than any in India.

5. The restriction of appeals to the court immediately above the one which has tried each case.

6. The simplification of Government enactments,

* I read amongst the telegrams in the *Asiatic*, that "Reports, Returns, and periodical statements show such a tendency to multiply, that the Viceroy has requested all subordinate governments to consider how they might be kept in due bounds."

† An Indian punchayet may be generally described as a court of arbitrators, usually consisting of five members.

and their careful limitation to the wants and requirements of the people.

7. The diffusion of information on every possible subject.

As to the first measure, the value of Hindoo punchayets * is so well known as the only method of arriving at a satisfactory result, and as being able to see through all the windings and intricacies of complicated cases, that it would be a mere waste of time to employ arguments in favour of its universal application to all cases, excepting, perhaps, those involving hanging crimes. I may mention, however, that in Malcolm's "Central India" may be found particular evidence of their value; and he especially calls attention to the fact that the result was always satisfactory where any of the princes and chiefs under British protection had disputes regarding land or property. In no instance, he informs us, was there any reason to suspect the punchayets of partiality or corruption; in no instance was it necessary to reverse the original decree; and many complaints brought before the local officers were at once withdrawn when submitted to a punchayet. And this seemed to show conclusively that punchayets prevent litigation, as no one would proceed with a case in which he had no confidence if he found that a punchayet was to be employed in deciding it. Wilks, also, was of opinion that "the most accomplished European judge can never hope to approach them in weighing the value of evidence; but, with the finding of the native jury on his side, he is freed from doubt and difficulty; he passes his sentence with a full confidence in its justice." † And as for myself,

* *Vide* vol. ii. chap. xiv.

† "The man who may be safely trusted for uniformly unfolding the whole

I would willingly refer any dispute between myself and my native neighbours to an arbitration punchayet; and my manager in India has standing orders to refer any case to a punchayet, as I feel sure that cases are thus far more satisfactorily settled than by any of our courts. The readiness with which a punchayet proceeds to work, and the methodical way it cross-examines witnesses, are, even amongst the apparently rude farmers, very remarkable. But I need not trouble the reader with further remarks on this well-known and valuable institution.

As to the settlement of each case locally and speedily I need not here enlarge, as the reasons for both are sufficiently obvious. In the first instance, a witness, in giving evidence before the whole of his society, has at once moral pressure and moral support. If he is inclined to bear false witness, the fact of many men being present who are acquainted with the main facts of the case will make him cautious in committing himself. If he is a timid witness who may be browbeaten, the presence of his friends will be of material service. From my own observation (and this is amply confirmed by the opinions of others), the natives are very deficient in moral courage. They are easily led

truth to a European in whom he has confidence, may be expected to equivocate, and even to contradict every word he has said, if called upon to repeat it in presence of a third person whom he either fears or suspects, and in one of these descriptions he usually includes all strangers. The same individual, who from fright, and often without any intelligible motive, will perjure himself without shame or compunction at a public trial, is faithful, kind, and respectable in the intercourse of ordinary society. . . . The more intimately they are known, the more favourable is the judgment of every good and humane European on the character of this interesting people; but fully to understand them requires to have lived and been educated among them as one of themselves; and I conscientiously believe that for the purpose of discriminating the motives of action, and the chances of truth in the evidence of such a people, the mature life of the most acute and able European judge devoted to that single object would not place him on a level with an intelligent Hindoo punchayet."—*Wilks.*

into making admissions when at a distance from their friends, and the same man who might be a very satisfactory witness in a case tried at his own village gate, would perhaps be induced to say or deny anything if the scene was shifted to a court ten miles off. Nor is this weakness evinced alone amongst the poorest and most ignorant; for I have met with instances of this deficiency amongst the most intelligent and affluent members of the community. As to the settlement of each case speedily little need be said; for not only does the lapse of time weaken the precise recollection of events, but it adds to the facilities for the bribing, threatening, and persuading of witnesses.

As regards the third measure I have suggested as advisable, it is plain that our system in India should be an imitation of the French, rather than our method of regulating the examination of witnesses and of accused persons. And even in this country people are beginning to think that, if the French have erred on one side, and have generally exhibited the unseemly spectacle of what often closely resembles a personal contest between the judge and the accused, we, on the other hand, have gone too far in the opposite direction, and so have caused numerous failures of justice.

The fourth point requires, I conceive, no comment.

On the fifth I may observe that it is hardly possible to exaggerate the evils that have been caused by appeals and appeals, which only prolong litigation, and are more likely to lead to injustice than anything it is possible to conceive. For it is perfectly certain that if the conclusions of those nearest to the scene of events are not flagrantly unjust, they are more likely to be correct

than any opinions that may subsequently be arrived at by the most competent court in India.*

As to the sixth measure I pointed out, sufficient evidence has been given in this chapter as to the advisability of simplifying Government enactments, and carefully limiting them to the wants and requirements of the people; and enough, too, has been said to show the necessity of providing methods for diffusing information amongst the natives in the rural districts. And the reader will find, in the chapter on Education, a method suggested for the diffusion of information, which, in the absence of newspapers, or rather, I should say, in the absence of ability to read, is the only one that is, I think, at all feasible.

* But one of the worst features in this appeal system is the encouragement it gives to the notion that suits are not reversed for nothing. Mr. H. L. Ashbourne, whose opinion was previously quoted, said that the natives attributed the numerous failures of justice to the corruption of the English judges, and there can be very little doubt of the truth of this remark. Natives are naturally shy in expressing opinions to Europeans; but I may mention, however, that I once asked a Brahmin, who, though not an official himself, had relatives in the courts, as to what the people thought on the subject. He hummed and hawed, and at length replied that he didn't know, but that it was always observed that most of the European officials had a favourite amongst the minor native officials.

Major Chesney, in his valuable work entitled "Indian Polity," while expressing an opinion that "a free right of appeal is absolutely necessary to insure the suitor a reasonable chance of obtaining a remedy," points out very plainly that "the exercise of this right, and the complicated procedure enjoined by the regulations, render Indian lawsuits extraordinarily protracted and expensive; and," he continues, "it would be difficult to say whether the litigious character now manifested by the people in those parts of India where British law courts are established is a cause or an effect of those institutions. Certainly the apparently capricious way in which the judgments of each court often appear to be upset by the next, which renders the final issue of a lawsuit a matter of uncertainty until the highest court of appeal is reached, in a degree unknown in any other country in the world, is calculated to promote a spirit of reckless gambling in law among a people to whom most kinds of excitement are not available. At any rate, if the Indian system of appeal was favourable to the rich suitor, who failed to obtain justice in the first trial, it as often as not barred the road to justice against the poor man, who practically was without a remedy at law until the late introduction of the small-cause courts." These courts admit of no appeal except in some special cases and under certain narrow conditions; and, as Major Chesney observes, these courts are "one of the greatest blessings which modern legislation has conferred upon the country."

Some years ago a gentleman in the Educational Department told me that, being desirous of ascertaining what the natives thought of the English, he asked and re-asked one of the pupils in the school at Bangalore what the people thought of our countrymen. For a long time he could get no definite answer; but at last the answer came, and it was this—"Well, we think you are like the monkeys in the tope" (clump of trees), "and we don't know what you are going to do next." And the natives think much the same of our worrying,* unpopular, uncomfortable ways of governing, and they don't know what we are going to do next, and no one has ever thought of asking the wearer where the shoe pinches, and—there is no more to be said.

* We see every day that one man who is a fine horseman, and who has what is called good hands on a horse, will not only get on far better, and have a far quieter time of it, but will get far more out of the horse, and part from it on far better terms, than an unskilful rider. Now, Indian governors have simply no hands; and just as you cannot make a blockhead of a horseman understand what it is that makes a horse go quietly with you while it is always worried by him, so it is vain to try and show our Indian governors how it is that they worry the people. An unskilful rider is an unskilful one mainly because he neglects, or fails to study, or has no ability to study, a number of trifling movements; and that is just the reason why our Indian governors fail: they not only don't get as much out of their horse as a skilful rider would, but they worry the animal into the bargain. Here, for instance, is one of these trifles. The natives of Munzerabad use a covering composed of wicker-work and leaves to protect them from the wet during the rainy season of the year. These coverings cost once about 1½*d.*, and though their saleable value has now gone up to about 6*d.*, the natives generally can provide themselves at a much cheaper rate. Now, the leaves are the produce of a reed-like plant that grows in swampy ground, and the wicker-work is made out of a sort of thin bamboo (watee), which is common throughout the Western Ghauts. For generations the natives who wanted such covering had procured these materials from the nearest jungle. But the jungles, in which these common rights have from time immemorial been exercised, are now declared to be the exclusive property of the Forest Department; and I have lately been informed that the watees are, for the future, to be sold to those who require those humble coverings. Now, from my intimate knowledge of the people, I confidently assert that you might have raised the land assessment all over the country without producing one-half of the unpopularity that a measure of this kind invariably causes. But the time is sure to come when the unskilful rider will find out what good hands on a horse means.

CHAPTER VI.

CASTE.

IN Krilof's fable of "The Peasant and the Horse," the latter murmurs at the way his master throws oats broadcast on the soil. How much better, argues the horse, it would have been to have kept them in his granary, or even to have given them me to eat! But the oats grew, and in due time are garnered, and from them the same horse is fed the year following. The horse, as we have seen, was unable to comprehend the working and the meaning of his master's acts; and, in the same way, we often see that man equally fails to comprehend the nature and effect of things around him. And thus it is, and for long has been, as regards the institution I am now about to consider. People in general have ignorantly murmured at the institution of caste; and having ever looked at it with highly-civilised spectacles, and having seen especially a number of the inconveniences it has caused to the educated population of the towns, it has been argued that caste is the curse of all India. But it seems to me that an attentive, unprejudiced examination tends to prove that in former times it was exactly the reverse, and that at the present moment, as far as all the ignorant rural population is concerned, it may be considered, with reference to the

state of the people, as a valuable and useful institution.

And here, at the outset, I wish it to be clearly understood that an immense divergence has taken place between the town and country populations of India. The former have advanced with rapid strides on the paths of enlightenment and progress, while the latter, it is hardly too much to say, have remained almost universally stationary. To argue, therefore, from one to the other is not only impossible, but absurd; and it is merely a waste of time to point out, at any length, that what may be admirably suited to one set of people may be a positive nuisance to another. With reference, then, to this question of caste, instead of treating India as a whole, I shall divide it into town and country populations. In the first place, I shall treat of the effects of caste on the country populations, amongst whom I have lived; and, in the second place, I shall offer some considerations regarding the effects of the institution amongst the people of the towns.

And, first of all, as to its effects on the rural population.

In these observations on caste I shall not commence with any attempt to trace its origin, nor shall I endeavour to enumerate the countless forms it has assumed amongst the peoples of the great peninsula. My aim is to direct the attention of the reader not to the dry bones of its history so much as to the living effects of the institution. It is certainly a matter of interest to know something of the peculiar customs of the various tribes and races; but it is to be regretted that people generally have rested content with information of that sort, and have seldom attempted to investigate those points which

are, I conceive, mainly of use and interest. What Indians may or may not do—what they may eat, what they may drink, and what clothing they may put on—are not matters on which inquirers should bestow much time. The information most needed, and which has not yet, or only in the most imperfect sense, been acquired, is as to what caste has done for good or evil. It shall be my endeavour to solve that question; and I imagine the solution would be in a great measure effected if I could, in the first instance, answer satisfactorily the following questions:—

1. How far has caste acted as a moral restraint amongst the Indians themselves?

2. How far advantageously or the reverse in segregating them socially from the conquerors who have overrun their country?

On the first of these points I may observe, without the slightest exaggeration, that very few of our countrymen indeed have had such opportunities as myself of forming a correct opinion; for very few Englishmen have been so entirely dependent on a native population for society. For the first four or five years of my residence in Munzerabad there were only three Europeans besides myself, and we were all about twelve miles apart. The natural consequence was that the farmers of the country were my sole companions; and, as I joined in their sports and had some of them always about me, terms of intimacy sprang up which never could have existed under any other circumstances. And further, when it is taken into consideration that I have employed the poorer of the better castes in various capacities on my estates, and a large number of the Pariahs, or labourer caste, it seems pretty clear that I ought to be a tolerably

competent judge as to whether caste did or did not exercise a favourable influence on the morals of the people. Now, as regards one department of morals, at least, I unhesitatingly affirm that it did, and that, as regards the connection of the sexes, it would be difficult to find in any part of the world a more moral people than the two higher castes of Munzerabad, who form about one-half of the population, and who may be termed the farming proprietors of the country. Amongst themselves, indeed, it was not to be wondered at that their morality was extremely good, as, from the fact of nearly every one being married at the age of puberty, and partly, perhaps, from the fact of their houses being more or less isolated, instead of being grouped in villages, the temptations to immorality were necessarily slight. Their temptations, though, as regards the Pariahs, who were, when I entered Munzerabad, merely hereditary serfs, were considerable; and there it was that the value of caste law came in. Caste said, You shall not touch these women; and so strong was this law, that I never knew of but one instance of one of the better classes offending with the Pariah women.* Some aversion of race there might, no doubt, have been, but the police of caste and its penalties were so strong that he would be a bold man indeed who would venture to run any risk of detection. To give an idea of how the punishment for an offence of this kind would operate, it may be added that, if one of the farming classes in this country, on a case of seducing one of the lower, was fined by his neighbours £500, and cut by society till he paid the money, he would be in exactly the same

* And that, I may observe, was a case in which a tody-drawer, the third caste in Munzerabad, was concerned.

position as a Munzerabad farmer would be who had violated the important caste law under consideration. Here, therefore, we have a moral police of tremendous power, and the very best proof we have of the regularity with which it has been enforced lies in the fact that the Pariahs and the farmers are distinguished by a form and physiognomy almost as distinct as those existing between an Englishman and a negro. And, with the view of showing the reader how great the difference is, I have had the upper classes and Pariahs engraved side by side. From the absence of colouring, the difference is not, of course, nearly so apparent as it would otherwise be, but it is sufficient to show the races have been kept quite distinct; and I hardly think it would be possible to find a Pariah who could be mistaken for one of the farmer class. Caste, then, as we have seen, protects the poor from the passions of the rich, and it equally protects the upper classes themselves, and enforcedly makes them more moral than, judging from our experience in other quarters of the globe, they would otherwise be.

Having thus briefly glanced at caste law, as controlling the connection of the sexes, let us now look at it from another point of view, which I venture to think is, as regards its ultimate consequences, of even still more importance. If there is one vice more than another which is productive of serious crime, it is the abuse of alcohol; and there is no doubt that, to use the words of an eminent statesman, "if we could subtract from the ignorance, the poverty, the suffering, the sickness, and the crime now witnessed among us, the ignorance, the poverty, the sickness, and the crime caused by the single vice of drinking, this country would be so changed for

the better that we should hardly know it again." Regarding it, then, in all its consequences, whether physical or mental (and how many madmen and idiots are there not bred by drinking? *), it is difficult to estimate too highly the value of caste laws that utterly prohibit the use of those strong drinks that are injurious in any country, but are a thousand times more so under the rays of a tropical sun. And when we come to consider that one-fourth of the population of Munzerabad are absolutely compelled to abstain from the use of alcohol, and that these being the very best, or at least equal to the very best, of the community, must always have exercised a large influence in discouraging the excessive use of intoxicating drinks, it is impossible to refrain from coming to the conclusion that this single fact is more than sufficient to counterbalance all the evils that have ever been said to arise from casté.

On two very important points, then—the connection of the sexes and the use of alcohol—it is evident that caste laws have produced some very favourable and valuable results; but I do not think we can accurately gauge their value unless we compare the state of morality existing in Munzerabad with the state of morality existing in one of our home counties; and the comparison I have to make, if not very soothing, is, I am sure, very interesting. Take any one of our counties in Great Britain, for instance, and compare it with Munzerabad as regards the points I have particularly referred to, and it will be found that Munzerabad has an immense superiority. The crimes and

* I observe in the Administration Report for Mysore, 1867-68, that nearly all the cases in the lunatic asylum were traced either to drinking or bhang-smoking.

misery arising from drinking are hardly to be found at all in Munzerabad, while the morality of the sexes, I should think, could hardly be surpassed. Now, there is nothing very surprising, considering that the people in this country are so heavily weighted, that this should be the case; on the contrary, it is the natural result of the circumstances of their worldly situation. But, supposing that the worldly situation as to the means of support and the opportunities of marrying were equal, it seems to me perfectly plain that the people who have fifty per cent. of the better classes (one-fourth of the population, it must be remembered) total abstainers, and who have their society so controlled that the rich cannot gratify their passions at the expense of the poor, must be in the possession of a superior morality.

It will be observed that I have said, any county in Great Britain, and I say so to the exclusion of Ireland, because I am informed that in that country the morality of the sexes is a great deal better than in either England or Scotland. I have no particular evidence before me to show that this is the case, but it may be inferred deductively with perfect accuracy, because the interests of the priests are on the side of a large population. The sentiment of sexual morality has, therefore, been worked up for generations. Early marriages, and consequently fewer temptations, naturally resulted. Irregularities were naturally rarer, and those that did occur, being without excuse, were severely condemned by society, and it is certain must have been tremendously censured by the priests. Hence, and aided, no doubt, by the potato and small allotments, your Irish virtue. And as neither machinery nor causes of the same sort existed in England or Scotland for the

improvement of this branch of morality, it is necessarily inferior.*

Before closing this branch of the subject, I may allude briefly to what has been so often attacked by the opponents of caste: I mean the prohibition of the marriage of widows. This rule exists in Munzerabad, but I am not aware that any great moral evil arises from it, as a widow can always contract to live with a man, the difference being that the ceremonies performed are of an inferior kind. This is not allowed to be a marriage, but, in fact, it is a marriage,† but of a kind held in very low estimation. On customs like these, which in a great measure neutralise the evils arising from the restrictions on re-marriage, it seems to me that our information is very scanty, and I am not aware how far the practice alluded to prevails in other parts of India.

Having taken into consideration the advantages of caste in acting as a moral restraint amongst the Indians themselves, I now purpose to inquire how far caste has acted advantageously, or the reverse, in segregating the people socially from the conquerors who have overrun their country.

If the advantages of caste are striking and plainly apparent as regards the moral points I have alluded to, they seem to me to be infinitely more so when we come to consider the happy influence this institution has had in segregating the Indians from the white races. And

* I have since been informed by a Scotch clergyman that the sexual morality of the true Celtic Highlanders is very good, far superior to that existing in other parts of Scotland. Many of these people are Roman Catholics, it may be observed. My informant was at a loss in any way to account for the superior morality of those who had become Protestants. Should these statements be well founded, it would certainly be interesting to inquire why these people should be possessed of a superior morality.

† See chap. ii. p. 84.

here I cannot help indulging in a vain regret that the blessings of caste have not been universally diffused amongst all inferior races. How many of these has our boasted civilisation improved off the face of the earth? How much has that tide of civilisation which the first conquerors invariably bring with them effected? How much, in other words, have their vice, rum, and gunpowder helped to exterminate those unhappy races which, unprotected by caste, have come in contact with the white man? Nor in India itself are we altogether without a well-marked instance of the value, for a time at least, of an entire social separation between the dark and white races; and the Todas, the lords of the soil on the Neilgherry Hills, furnish us with a lamentable example of what the absence of caste feeling is capable of producing. We found them a simple pastoral race, and the early visitors to the hills were struck with their inoffensive manners, and what was falsely considered to be their greatest advantage—freedom from caste associations. But what is their condition now? One of drunkenness, debauchery, and disease of the most fatal description. Had the much-reviled caste law been theirs, what a different result would have ensued from their contact with Europeans! Caste would have saved them from alcohol, and their women from contamination; they would thus have maintained their self-respect; and if, at first, separation brought no progress nor shadow of change, it would have at least induced no evil, and education and enlightenment would in time have modified these caste institutions which, to a superficial observer, seem to be productive of nothing but evil.

We have now seen that social contact with whites,

without any barrier between them and the inferior races, is not, in a moral point of view, a very desirable thing in any part of the world. But if there is a moral consequence, we may also point to a mental one which exercises an immense influence: I mean the overwhelming sense of inferiority which is so apt to depress casteless races. I believe, then, for savages, or for people in a low state of civilisation, it is of the greatest importance that they should have points of difference which may not only keep them socially apart, but which may enable them to maintain some feeling of superiority when coming in contact with highly-civilised races. Nor is it necessary that the feeling of superiority should be well founded. An imaginary superiority will, I believe, answer the purpose equally well. "We don't touch beef, nor would we touch food cooked by Englishmen or Pariahs," seem but poor matters for self-congratulation. But if these considerations prevent a man from forming a poor opinion of himself, they should be carefully cherished. On these points, at least, a feeling of superiority is sustained, and therefore the tendency to degradation is diminished. But if on all points the white man makes his superiority felt, the weaker people speedily acquire a thorough contempt for themselves, and soon become careless of what they do, or of what becomes of them. Their mental spring becomes fatally depressed, and this circumstance has probably more to do with the deterioration and extinction of inferior races than most people would be inclined to admit.* Nothing, then, I believe, chills the soul and checks the progress of man so much as a hopeless sense of inferiority; and, had I time, I might turn the atten-

* *Vide* Sproat's "Studies of Savage Life."

tion of the reader to the universality of this law, and to the numerous instances that have been collected to prove the depressing and injurious effects that even nature, on a grand and overwhelming scale, seems to exercise on the mind and spirit of man—how it makes him timid, credulous, and superstitious, and produces effects which retard his progress. But to advance further on this point, however interesting it may be, would only tend to distract the attention of the reader from the subject with which we are mainly concerned.

If the remarks hitherto made are of any value, they undoubtedly tend to prove that all inferior races have a tendency, in the first instance, to adopt the vices rather than the virtues of the more civilised races they may come in contact with. Assuming then, as I think we have every right to do, that this statement is universally true, it is evident that the social separation maintained by caste has been of incalculable advantage. On the other hand, however, a number of disadvantages have been indicated by various writers; but only one of these seems to me at all worthy of serious attention. It has been asserted that this segregation has impeded advancement, that it has prevented the Indians learning as much from us as they otherwise might, and that it has impeded the mainspring of all advancement—education. Here, I apprehend, the argument against caste, as far as rural populations are concerned, utterly fails, and, in a province contiguous to my own, a most signal instance to the contrary can be pointed to. Few people have more proudly segregated themselves than the Coorgs; nowhere is the chastity of women more jealously guarded; and yet they were the first people in India who desired and petitioned for female education. And

how, then, can it be for one moment asserted that the tendency of caste is to check the progress of the people?

Having thus glanced at some of the effects of caste institutions as they affect the rural population, we will now consider caste as it affects the people of the towns. Following, then, the same order, and directing our attention to the same points selected for consideration when treating of the rural classes, let us ask how far caste has operated with the townspeople as regards the connection of the sexes and the use of alcohol. And here we shall find that the subject may be dismissed in almost a single sentence; for caste laws, as regards these points, can never act as a moral restraint, because the possibility of enforcing them cannot and does not exist. Nor need I waste time in proving that people in towns, whether in India or any other part of the world, may readily do things which could never escape the prying eyes of a country society.

Then, as regards the segregation from foreigners, it is evident that we need employ little time, for such of the town populations as have maintained a fair state of morality amid the evils of large cities are not likely to be materially affected by the bad habits and customs of the white races; and as for those who have never led a steady life, it would not much matter with whom they mixed. But caste not only brings with it no good as far as the town population is concerned, but its continuance is fraught with a multitude of painful and vexatious evils, which meet us at every turn, for it hampers the actions, and clogs those efforts at progress which are the natural result of intellectual advancement. And here I cannot do better than quote the words of a Parsee gentleman, whose unceasing efforts to aid the progress

of India entitle him to be placed in the very highest rank of those who spend much time and labour to produce effects which they can never live to see the fruits of. These remarks of his which I am now about to quote were made at the close of a paper on Caste which I read at a meeting of the East India Association, and are quoted from the report published in the journal of the Association. After fully granting that, in the condition of society existing at the time the system of caste was established, it may have done a great deal of good, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji proceeded to remark on the way the present system of caste interferes with progress among the higher classes, and then gave several instances to illustrate his observation.

"The great struggle," he said, "which is now going on in Bombay about the widow-marriage question is an apt illustration of this; and, also, the fear of excommunication prevents a large body of natives from coming to this country, and profiting by their visit. It is often said, 'Educated Hindoos ought not to care for this excommunication;' but those who say that, little think what excommunication means. A man who is excommunicated may not care for it for his own sake, but he has his family to consider. What is to be done with daughters? They cannot marry if their father is excommunicated, and the result is, therefore, most serious to them. I knew of one instance of a native gentleman who, being excommunicated from his caste for having visited England, had, on the death of his child, been put to the very painful necessity of having the body carried by his servant, without any one accompanying him."

It would be impossible, I think, to furnish two better instances of the evils of caste to people desirous of

shaking off in any way the habits of their forefathers; and a more melancholy picture than that of this unfortunate man setting out with his dead child without a single friend to accompany him it would indeed be difficult to find. Many other illustrations might, of course, be given; but enough has been said already, and we may safely consider it as a settled question that, as far as the people of the towns are concerned, the sooner caste is abolished the better.

In retracing the ground we have gone over, I may remind the reader that we have considered the effects of caste, as regards the country population, in two very important particulars: first of all, as to the morality of the sexes, which is controlled to such a large extent by caste law; and, secondly, we have looked at the effects of caste as controlling the use of alcohol, and consequently limiting the crimes and evils that can in most countries be traced to drinking. On both of these points we have compared an Indian county with any county in Great Britain, and saw reason to think that morality, as regards the points under consideration, is better in Munzerabad than in any British county. And, by facts which may be brought from many quarters of the globe, we have seen that it is a universal law that inferior races have a tendency to adopt the vices rather than the virtues of superior races, and that, therefore, caste laws which enjoin social separation are of the highest value. We have seen, too, the value of caste in keeping up feelings of superiority and self-respect. We have also seen that these caste laws can exist without retarding the progress of the people, or their desire for education. And, finally, taking all these points into consideration, we concluded that there were no

drawbacks, and many striking advantages, connected with caste as far as the country populations are concerned.

In the next place, we looked at the circumstances of the people of the towns, inquired as to how caste has affected them for good or evil, and came to the conclusion that not only does no good arise from caste, but that it is plainly and unmistakably an unmitigated evil.

Keeping these conclusions firmly in mind, let us now advance to the consideration of a third question, which naturally arises out of those facts which I assume to have been established.

That question is—How far has caste acted beneficially, or the reverse, in helping to retard our interpretation of Christianity? Pursuing the same order as before, let us ask, in the first place, whether caste has, as regards the country populations, acted beneficially in this as well as in the other points we have looked at. But, before attempting to answer this question, it may be as well to offer a few general remarks which tend to show that, independently of any question of caste, it is hopeless to expect that any ignorant and generally unenlightened race can possibly derive any benefit from adopting the formulas and dogmas of a pure faith.

To illustrate this old and well-established truth, let us point to four of the many instances which may be adduced as decisively confirming it—the history of Christianity in Europe, of Islam amongst the Indian Mahomedans, and the history of Christianity in Abyssinia and India. As to the first, to use the words of Buckle, "after the new religion had received the homage of the best part of Europe, it was found that nothing had really been effected." Superstition was merely turned from one channel into another. The adoration

of idols was succeeded by the adoration of saints, and for centuries after Christianity had become the established religion it entirely failed to produce its natural fruits, because ignorance imperatively demanded superstition in some shape or other. To some it may seem, at first sight, a curious circumstance that the same remarks may be applied to the history of Mahomedanism in India. The idols were broken, and the one God declared. But how long was it before the people, like the Israelites of old, fell away from the grand central doctrine of Mahomedanism—the unity of God? How long was it before the adoration of idols was followed by the adoration of saints? The exact coincidence, however, is no more striking than that given causes produce fixed results with an Eastern as well as with a Western people. When we turn, thirdly, to Abyssinia, what do we find? How have the dogmas of Christianity fared there? The Abyssinians did not rise to the level of the dogmas and principles of Christianity—that we all know. They simply reduced it to their own level. Look, lastly, at our native Christians in India. I believe it is quite certain that, in the general opinion of Englishmen, they are, to say the least, very far from being the best class in India; in fact, I do not think it too much to say that most Europeans hold them to be about the worst class of people in India. I confess that I do not share this opinion altogether. The fact probably is that, in consequence of their extreme ignorance and generally debased state, they are, in the rural districts, neither better nor worse than the classes from which they are principally drawn. In our cantonments, however, and especially in those where European soldiery abounds, there is every probability of their being

worse than the classes from which they have sprung; and I have little doubt that the low estimation in which the native Christians are held is owing to the fact that our countrymen have generally come in contact with the specimens that have been nurtured amidst the scum of our Indian towns. Were we to believe the assertions of our English missionaries, very different conclusions would, of course, be arrived at; but unless they can show that the lowest and most ignorant classes of natives, who from their habits, and from having nothing to lose, are under great temptations, form an exception to all specimens of humanity in other quarters of the globe, I am afraid there can be little reason to doubt that the opinions I have expressed are fairly correct. I doubt very much, in fact, from my intimate knowledge of the lower classes of natives,—and it is from these, as I said before, that our converts are mainly derived,—whether they are capable of comprehending our religion at all. Of one thing I think we may be quite certain, and that is, that the moment the missionary's back is turned, these people return to their devils in the event of any danger or sickness arising. This might be arrived at deductively with perfect accuracy, and arguing solely from our knowledge of humanity under certain conditions; but I may mention that in Ceylon instances of people reverting to their devil-worship are common amongst the native Christians, and instances might, no doubt, be soon collected in India, if any one thought it worth the trouble. While alluding to missionary assertions, I may mention that the credulity of these gentlemen seems only to be equalled by the credulity of the British public. If they would only extend their belief in the goodness of natives a little further, one might be

tempted to sympathise with this amiable weakness. But the peculiar part of their statements lies in the fact that their converts have got all the virtue and morality in India, while the respectable classes of the community seem, by their account, to be very badly off in these respects. The most curious instance, however, of missionary credulity that I have met with is to be found in the evidence of Mr. Underhill, given before the Committee on Colonization (India) in 1859. And it certainly is a surprising result of conversion to find that the wives of the converts become not only more beautiful, but also more fertile, than their heathen sisters. Two heathen natives had been heard to testify to these facts, and it is wonderful to observe the complacent air of satisfaction with which these statements are accepted by the witness, who added that "this difference evidently arises from the more chaste and regular modes of life in which they fall."*

I have said that the native Christians are probably neither better nor worse than the lower classes from which they are drawn, and the painfully truthful remarks given in the note below† seem to show that, whatever

* It may be observed here that there are few who know so little as to the sexual morality of the people around them as clergymen. It does not become them, of course, to enter into the gossip of the village, nor does any one care to broach such subjects in the first instance; and I may mention here that a relative of my own, a clergyman in a country parish, told me that if anything went wrong in these respects he was the very last person in the world to hear one word about it.

† The Abbé Dubois makes the following remarks:—"During the long period I lived in India, in the capacity of a missionary, I have made, with the assistance of a native missionary, in all between two and three hundred converts of both sexes. Of this number two-thirds were Pariahs or beggars, and the rest were composed of Sudras, vagrants, and outcasts of several tribes, who, being without resources, turned Christians in order to form new connections, chiefly for the purpose of marriage, or with some other interested motive. Among them are also to be found some who believed themselves to be possessed with the devil, and who turned Christians after having been assured that on receiving baptism the unclean spirits would leave them and never return; and I will declare it with

may be the case now (and I believe that the low-class converts are somewhat better than they were then), the converts to Christianity must have been originally a very indifferent set of people. Christianity, however, if it did not make these classes much better, at any rate made them no worse. When we turn, however, to the middle-class farmers, it is evident that to have converted them, unless that conversion had been preceded by enlightenment, and a more advanced civilisation than they had hitherto enjoyed, would have inflicted on them an incalculable injury, by depriving them of restraints which, as we have seen, are in some particulars of immense importance. To become a Christian, the first thing required of a man is that he should give up caste, and deliver himself to the sole guidance of his conscience; that he should give up a powerful and effective moral restraint; that he should abandon a position which carries with it feelings of self-respect and superiority, and resign himself to the degrading reflection that he may eat from the same platter and drink from the same vessel as the filthiest Pariah; and that this would be degrading there can be little doubt. Were he an educated and enlightened man, he would be sustained by feelings which would raise him above the influence of such considerations. But, in the absence of enlightenment, sad would be his fate, and melancholy the deterioration that would inevitably ensue. The way in which that de-

shame and confusion that I do not remember any one who may be said to have embraced Christianity from conviction and from quite disinterested motives. Among these new-comers many apostatised and relapsed into paganism, finding that the Christian religion did not afford them the temporal advantages they had looked for in embracing it; and I am very ashamed that the resolution I have taken to tell the whole truth on this subject forces me to make the humiliating avowal that those who continued Christians are the very worst among my flock." —Dr. Allen's "India," p. 522.

terioration would take place, the way in which he would become careless of what he did, or of what became of him, has been sufficiently indicated in the previous pages of this chapter; and to give in detail the principal reasons against a change of faith which involved the abolition of caste, would only be to repeat what I have already said as to the effect of the institution in controlling the morality of the sexes and the use of alcohol. Not only, then, I repeat, would a change of dogma be as unimproving and superficial as changes of that sort always are with unenlightened people, but a number of positive evils would follow from the necessary abandonment of the restrictions of caste; and we may therefore conclude that, as regards the whole population, the effect of caste in helping to prevent the adoption of our interpretation of Christianity is of incalculable advantage.

When we turn to the town populations the case is widely different. We have seen that for them the practical advantages of caste can hardly be said to exist at all, and therefore a change of religion which involved its abolition would, as regards any part of the society, at least produce no evil. Here, at least, we are on safe ground. But this is not all. We see that with the better classes education and enlightenment have borne their natural fruit, and demanded a pure faith, which has already sprung up in the shape of Deism. Enlightenment, then, will produce a pure faith, which will in time react on society, and push it forward with accelerated speed. Now, it cannot be denied that caste laws do retard the free and unfettered adoption of a pure faith; and if we assume that a pure faith will in turn become a cause, or even an accelerator, of progress, then it is certain that, as regards the peoples of the towns, caste, as

retarding the adoption of the most advanced principles of religion, is an undoubted calamity.

We have now looked at the bearings of caste on three very important points—its moral bearing amongst the Indians themselves, its effects in maintaining a social separation between the white and dark races, and its effects in retarding the adoption of a religion which involves the entire abolition of caste laws. In the first place, we looked at the effects of caste laws on the rural populations, and came to the conclusion that on all these points caste has operated, and continues to operate, advantageously. In the second place, we looked at its effects on the peoples of the towns, and came to the conclusion that caste confers on them no advantages, while it is always productive of serious evil.

Let us now glance for one moment at the causes of the general outcry which you everywhere hear against caste institutions, and at the same time suggest the line of conduct that the people of the towns ought to adopt with reference to this question.

And here I need not occupy much space in indicating the causes of that abuse of caste which has always been so popular with my countrymen. In fact, if we admit the truth of the facts and arguments hitherto adduced, these causes are so apparent that the reader must have already anticipated the solution I have to give. Caste, as we have seen, is a serious evil to the peoples of the towns. Now, it is amongst towns and cantonments that our principal experiences of this institution have been acquired, and the educated natives of the Indian capitals, feeling all the evils and experiencing none of the advantages of caste, are naturally loud in its condemnation. Hence the cry arising from all Europeans and a

trifling section of the Indians, that caste should be abolished from one end of India to the other. But how is it that no response comes from these country populations amongst whom I have lived? How is it that these shrewd-headed people* are so insensible to the evils of caste, and that you never hear one word about it? The answer is extremely simple. They have never felt these evils, because for them they do not exist. If they felt the pressure of caste laws as do the people of the towns, the outcry would be universal, and the institution speedily done away with. Need I add that, when the people of the country are as advanced as the people of the towns, that then, and not till then, will the pressure, which is now confined to the latter, be universally felt; that then, and not till then, will this institution, being no longer suited to the requirements of the age, be universally discarded?

Let us now say a few words as to the line of conduct that should be adopted, as regards caste, by those who are desirous of freeing themselves from the restrictions of that institution.

In the first place, the opponents of caste should not weaken their case by talking nonsense; and, in the second place, they should remember, above all things, that, to use a common saying, "if you want a pig to go to Dublin, the best thing you can do is to start him off

* I may mention here that Sir Bartle Frere, in his paper on "Indian Public Works," said, with reference to opening up districts hitherto unpierced by roads, "And here let me observe, in passing, without any disparagement of my own countrymen, that I have generally found the agricultural and commercial classes of India quite as intelligent on points of this kind as the agricultural and commercial classes of our own old-fashioned country." But I have always found that the people who have had the best opportunities of judging have formed very favourable opinions as to the intelligence of the agricultural classes, who are generally painted as being entirely indifferent, and even hostile, to the best schemes undertaken for their benefit.

on the way to Cork." I shall now enlarge a littl
both of these recommendations.

To illustrate my first suggestion—and to this su
tion I shall again have occasion to allude further
this chapter—a few sentences may be devoted to gla
at some of those remarkable conclusions which s
so well in the observations one often hears when
thing is said about India. The tendency of caste
will hear it gravely urged, is to elevate the
classes on the highest possible pinnacle, and kee
Pariah grovelling in the dust. "What," continue
speaker, "keeps the Brahmin at the top and the P
at the bottom?" Why, let me ask in turn, is a
tail long, and a fox's tail bushy? Is it in this
teenth century that we are to try and din into pe
ears that the upper classes in India were at the t
the social scale, and the Pariah at the bottom, cent
before caste, in its present shape, ever existed, and
the relative position of the two races would con
with little change if caste was to be abolished to-mo
morning? "What," gravely asks another, "has prev
the peoples of India uniting into one grand nation
destroyed all hopes of political fusion?" Nor, to n
would the absurdity of the question be apparent til
asked them what has prevented all Europe beco
one nation; or, to take things on a smaller scale
you asked what prevented the Highland clans for
themselves into a nation. In short, whenever a m
in a difficulty, and at a loss to account for anything
nected with the state of the people of India, he
refuge in caste, combined, perhaps, with what is c
native prejudice, though what that last means I do
pretend to explain. Now, it is not improbable that

of my readers may have heard of Holloway's pills, and we know, in fact, that thousands believe that medicine to be an efficacious remedy for every constitutional ailment. Only swallow Holloway, and you are a cured man. Well, the abolition of caste, with an incredible number of people, is, in like manner, confidently pronounced to be a universal remedy for all the political and social complaints of India. Remove that, and you will at one stroke secure social liberty, national unity, the removal of idolatry, and, some even are rash enough to affirm, the universal adoption of Christianity. Such, then, are a few examples of the nonsense you will hear commonly talked about caste, and I think I need not waste time in pointing out that the opponents of caste must take very different ground if they wish to obtain a hearing from the peoples of India.

In the second point to which I have called the attention of the reader I alluded to the general law of opposition, and used a common saying which exactly illustrates the probable result of violent and ill-judged attacks on caste. In fact, so apparent is this, that the reader must have already anticipated the line that, in my opinion, the opponents of caste should follow. What the opponents of caste should preach is, not the abolition of that institution, but toleration for the educated and advanced members of the community who, finding caste an impediment and a burden, wish to discard it. They should admit that this institution has been, and is at the present moment, of value amongst the rural populations, but they should, at the same time, point out that times are changing, and that the peoples of the towns ask for some toleration, not because caste is necessarily a universal evil in itself, but because it is, as far as they are

concerned, highly inconvenient. This is the way—and, if this plan does not answer, I feel sure no other will—that the evils of caste are to be mitigated, and I urge these views accordingly on the serious attention of all enlightened Indians.

The reader will have observed that, when pointing out the advantages of caste in repelling our interpretation of Christianity, I have assumed that the adoption of Christianity necessarily involves the entire abolition of all those social distinctions that make up what we call caste. Such have been the terms on which Christianity has been offered to the peoples of India by our English missionaries; and I, for one, do most sincerely rejoice that their hide-bound interpretation of the Protestant faith has been as promptly as it has been decidedly rejected. But why should caste—which, as I have shown, can be proved to have produced such favourable results as regards drinking, and as regards the morality of the sexes—why should this institution, which in these respects can be proved to have produced better results than Christianity has ever done in these islands—why should this be swept away because you wish to introduce the religion of Christ? It has been alleged to be entirely incompatible with Christianity; and were this so, there would, of course, be no more to be said. But this I wholly deny. It is, of course, incompatible in some respects with exalted conceptions of the most advanced Christianity; but there is no reason why Christianity should not be allowed to exist alongside of abnormal social growths, and why, in short, Christianity should not be stretched to tolerate caste, in the same way that it was allowed by the apostles to exist alongside of evils with which the institution of caste cannot,

for iniquity or for general ill effects, be for one moment compared. Christianity was not held by the apostles to be an impossibility because the professors of that faith bought and sold slaves; it was not held so by their descendants for hundreds of years; and will those interpreters of Christianity whom we have sent to India venture to assert that the Americans had no right to the name of Christians until the close of the late war? Slavery was driven out at length, or at least in a great measure driven out, by Christianity; but Christianity, remember, had first of all to be introduced; and taking into consideration the Acts of the Apostles, the way in which they yielded to the customs and prejudices of their converts, and the resolution they came to "not to trouble those of the Gentiles who were turning to God," on what grounds do our missionaries rest their claim to debar from the advantages of Christianity those people who, wishing to retain their place in society, desire to become Christians? This is not the first time that these questions have been asked. They were asked at great length by Mr. Irving in his "Theory and Practice of Caste." Hitherto they have been asked in vain; and owing to the indifference of people in this country, and to the slavish submission of the laity to the opinion of the missionaries, a system of attempting to propagate Christianity has been allowed to exist which has been of incalculable mischief. But I think we may even go further than this. I think it may be asserted that the line taken up, as regards caste, by our missionaries has acted more prejudicially to the interests of Christianity than if we had deliberately despatched emissaries to India with the view of preventing the people from adopting the religion of Christ. These may seem harsh,

and I have no doubt they will prove to be unwelcome, expressions of opinion. They will hurt, and I am afraid will shock, the feelings of many a good and worthy man. I regret that this should be so, but I cannot help it. In any case good must arise. If I am right, as I firmly believe myself to be, the cause of enlightenment and Christianity will be advanced; and if I am wrong, and it can be proved that the missionaries are right, they will have as great, and it may even be a greater claim to public support than they ever had before. But it must clearly be understood that, as an individual desirous of propagating truth, I have a right to demand an answer. If that answer is satisfactory, well and good. If it is not satisfactory, or if no answer be supplied at all, I shall then request the public here to consider whether it would not be better to withhold all their subscriptions from our English, or at least transfer them to such missions as will consent to attempt to propagate Christianity on the widest possible base.

In considering this important subject I shall, in the first place, glance at Bishop Heber's Letter on Caste; Bishop Wilson's Circular; the Report of the Madras Commissioners; and the statement of the Tanjore German Missionaries. This may seem a formidable list of documents to commence with, but it is my intention to make only the most cursory allusion to each, as to consider these papers at any length would occupy far too much space. Having thus stated the difference of opinions, as regards caste, between the Germans and the Protestant missionaries, I shall then proceed to inquire whether caste can or can not be traced to an idolatrous source; whether it was in any way necessarily wound up with religion; and whether, further, it is at all necessary

that, supposing it to have been at any time wound up with religion, there should therefore be at the present day any necessary connection between the religions of the peoples and their caste customs.

In Bishop Heber's Letter of March 21st, 1826, he says that, "with regard to the distinctions of caste as yet maintained by professing Christians, it appears that they are manifested—(*a*) in desiring separate seats at church; (*b*) in going up at different times to receive the Holy Communion; (*c*) in insisting on their children having different sides of the school; (*d*) in refusing to eat, drink, or associate with those of a different caste."

On the first of these points the bishop observes, with great justice, that points of precedence have constantly been granted in Christian churches to people of noble birth and of great fortune, and that in the United States of America these distinctions were always maintained between the whites and the negroes. He also points out that a Christian gentleman conforms to those rules because, if he neglected them, he would lose influence with his own degree in society, and that a native of the better classes acts exactly on the same principle. And on this point he concludes that distinctions of caste in church may still be allowed, provided that due care is taken to teach the natives that in the sight of God they are all equal.

As regards the second point the good bishop says nothing, because, I surmise, he concluded the going up at different times to receive the sacrament was included in his remarks as regard precedence in church.

As regards the schools, and amongst the children, he observes that caste must, as regards taking places, &c.,

be disregarded, but, he adds, even here caution should be observed to disgust no man needlessly.

With regard to the fourth point, he was decidedly of opinion that, as regards private meals and social intercourse, we had no right to interfere whatever.

After alluding to the objections raised by some zealous missionaries to the processions in marriages and other matters, he intimates pretty plainly that he has some fears that recent missionaries have been more scrupulous in these matters than need requires. He then concludes by saying that "God forbid we should wink at sin; but God forbid, also, that we should make the narrow gate of life narrower than Christ has made it, or deal less favourably with the prejudices of this people than St. Paul and the primitive church dealt with the almost similar prejudices of the Jewish converts."

The bishop then framed a set of questions as regards caste observances, to which he required particular answers; but, in consequence of his untimely death, and of the short tenure of office held by his successors, Bishops James and Turner, no further official action was taken till the middle of 1833, when Bishop Wilson's Circular * dealt the most fatal blow to Christianity that

* In this Circular of Bishop Wilson's it is surprising to observe the contradictions that exist. At one part of the Circular we are told that the apostle's language is conclusive: and "Seeing ye have put off the old man with deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him, where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all," is quoted as evidence of the Divine wishes. "So overwhelming," continues the bishop, "is the flood by which all petty distinctions of nation, caste, privilege, rank, climate, position in civilization are effaced, and one grand distinction substituted." And yet, at another part of the Circular, we are told that the distinctions in civil society are acknowledged by the Gospel, when they are "the natural result of difference of talents, industry, piety, station, and success." Another decision of the apostle is quoted in the same Circular, and it is this— "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for we are all one in Christ Jesus;" and so, of course, we are all equal in his sight. And yet this is quoted as being a decision in favour of

it has ever received in India. For this Circular imperatively declared that the distinction of castes, as regards all the relations of life, must be abandoned, "decidedly, immediately, and finally." And in order that this mandate might be intensely galling to the upper-class vegetarian Christian, it was especially ordered that "differences of food and dress" were to be included in those overt acts which were to mark out for condemnation the Christian who still clung to the habits of his fathers in these innocent, and, as regards food, healthful restrictions. To cling to these differences of food and dress, and to abstain from alcohol, was to cling to caste; and it was especially ordered that the children of native Christians should not be admitted to the Holy Communion without a full renunciation of all those social differences which might distinguish them from other members of the society in which they lived. This was quite sufficient. "The Circular was read in the churches of

doing away with the civil institutions of caste, which are undoubtedly the marks of that "station" which the bishop tells us is acknowledged by the Gospel, and in no way different from the station that a member of the House of Lords inherits from his predecessors. And here, though I do not think that it is advisable to cling to isolated texts as evidence of the general conduct of the apostles regarding the prejudices of their converts, I may mention that Peter, in his first Epistle, says, "Submit yourself to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." And if we take Dean Alford's interpretation of this, and consider it as equivalent to a command, extending to every human institution (and I can see no reason why we should not), it is plain that our missionaries in India, if they wish to follow the example of the apostles, should yield to the prejudices of caste as long as they do not involve idolatrous rites. But it is in the general action of the apostles, as illustrated in Acts xv. 19, that the safest guide may, I apprehend, be found; and when, with reference to difficulties as regarding the customs of their converts, St. James said (Dean Alford's edition), "Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them which from the Gentiles are turned to God; but that we write to them, that they abstain from pollutions of idols, from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood;"—and again: "For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than" [these] "necessary things; that ye abstain from meats offered unto idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; from which, if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well;"—when the apostle said thus, I think we ought to feel little doubt as to the course we ought to pursue regarding the social customs of the peoples of India.

Tanjore. It was received by the native Chri with great displeasure, and they showed their by seceding in a body."

Turning now to the Report of the Madras Cor sioners, which was written in 1845, we shall at on the cause and root of this violent attack on social us For the commissioners commence their Report by st that the institution of caste and the divisions of sc were things of priestly invention, and that, in fact whole of Hindoo society, as we at present see it, ginated in, and is maintained by, Hindoo idolatry. they further allege that the tyranny of this instit is such as to be perfectly unaccountable on any supposition. How any body of priests had the pow issue and enforce mandates regarding the extraordi diversities as to food and dress that we see preva throughout India, where the council sat that is these decrees, and where the members of this co came from, they give no account. They do not to have even thought of such questions, and, for evic of these astounding assertions, they refer us to they call "the laws of Manu,"* and to Halhed's "G

* "The name, 'Laws of Manu,' somewhat resembles a pious fraud, 'laws' are merely the laws or customs of a school or association of H called the Mânavas, who lived in the country rendered holy by the divin Saraswati. In this district the Hindoos first felt themselves a settled peop in this neighbourhood they established colleges and hermitages, or âsrama some of which we may suppose Brâhmanas, Upanishads, and other re compositions may have issued; and under such influences we may imagi Code of Manu to have been composed.

"The Mânavas were undoubtedly an active, energetic people, who go themselves, paid taxes to the king, established internal and external tra drew up an extensive system of laws and customs, to which they append and imaginary awards. This system appears to have worked so well, that adopted by other communities, and then the organisers announced it a given to them by their divine progenitor, the great Mana. They added pa moreover, which assert the divine claims of Brâhmans and the inferiority rest of mankind. Such assertions are little more than rhetorical flouris Brâhmans never were either so omnipotent or so unamiable as the Code represent them; nor were the Sûdras ever so degraded. In Sanskrit pla

Hindoo Code." Caste and idolatry, then, according to them, are not only inextricably wound up together, but caste itself was caused by, and is a part of, idolatry; and we are, therefore, plainly told that it is impossible that a man should abandon the one without abandoning the other, and that, in other words, the two institutions must stand or fall together. Leaving this part of these assertions to be commented on further on, I now pass on to the statement and arguments of the Tanjore German missionaries.

Shortly after Bishop Heber's Letter which I have referred to at the commencement of these remarks, he drew up a number of questions regarding caste practices amongst native Christians, to which he required special answers. These Articles of Inquiry, as they are termed, were sent to the Tanjore missionaries, and by them a statement in reply was furnished. They were asked for their opinion in 1828, and though no date is affixed to these statements, I conclude that they probably replied towards the close of that year.

They commence by observing that the distinctions of caste had been observed since the establishment of the mission by the Rev. Mr. Schwartz, soon after the year 1762, and that he himself had been guided, partly by his own discretion, and partly by the example of the clergy of the Tranquebar mission, which, in the year 1705, was started by those good and amiable men of whom I have given some account in another part of this work. These successors of Schwartz, then, observed that they had persistently imitated the conduct of that able

poems, weak and indigent Brâhmans are by no means unfrequent; and, on the other hand, we meet with Sûdras who had political rights, and even in the Code find the pedigrees of great men traced up to Sûdra ancestors."—Mrs. Manning's "Ancient and Mediæval India," vol. i. p. 276.

and good man; but that, while they took care to imitate his caution and forbearance, they seized every opportunity of softening the mutual prejudices arising from distinctions of caste; and they also observe that, in consequence, those distinctions of caste have gradually lost a great deal of their importance.

Alluding, in the next place, to the assertion that castes had been invented and entirely originated by the Brahmins, the authors of the statement observe that, in the opinion of the most intelligent natives who were not of the Brahminical order, the social distinctions which constitute caste existed long before the Brahmins came into the country at all; and they assert, further, that though the Brahmin priests blended those social distinctions with their idolatry, and framed a convenient legend to account for their divine institution, the whole thing was a mere fiction, which had been invented with the view of adding to the power of an ambitious priesthood. But the missionaries of Tanjore asserted, further, that even if the legend of caste was a true one, and that caste had been a part of idolatry, still those who abandoned the worshipping of idols and superstitious rites were not, therefore, to be required to abandon such practices as had nothing of idolatry about them at all, and they distinctly declared that no rites of an idolatrous or even mixed nature were tolerated amongst their converts.

The missionaries then pointed out that their high-caste converts simply retained these privileges and social customs because they would lose the respect of their neighbours if they abandoned those marks of station which they had inherited, and which they looked upon entirely as a civil prerogative. It was also pointed out that high-caste priests gained ready access to the houses

of the better classes, and had, therefore, better chances of spreading Christianity than Pariah priests, whom no good-caste native would allow to cross the threshold of his house.

At church those of the upper classes sat on one side, and those of the lower on the other, and the higher and lower castes went up at different times to the communion-table.

In the schools no difficulty was experienced, and high and low caste children sat quite indiscriminately.

As regards social intercourse, they observe that none of their converts have any objection to partake of food prepared by another caste, as long as that caste is of superior rank to them, but that no one would touch food prepared by a man of lower caste than himself. The distinction of caste was also preserved as regards marriages, though these, of course, were always solemnised in the church.

Finally, these good and sensible men regret the tendencies of caste, but seem to consider that more good was to be done by letting it alone, and, in short, letting it die a natural death, than by forcibly opposing the prejudices of the people. And they very justly observe, that to oblige a man of high caste to eat with the lowest is doing force to common delicacy and to natural feelings of sense, and may be sometimes of serious consequence to bodily health.

I may here mention that about twelve years ago, Dr. Graul, the head of the Leipsic Missionary Society,* visited India, remained there three years at the various missionary stations, and was firmly convinced that to interfere with the social customs of the native Christians

* *Vide* Appendix C.

would be at once unjust and impolitic. As regards the exact action of the Roman Catholics at present, I have no information to lay before the reader, but I know that they always had the wisdom to interfere as little as possible with the prejudices of the people, as long as they did not involve idolatrous rites.

Having thus laid before the reader an outline of the views of the supporters and opponents of caste, I shall now offer the conclusions I have arrived at, partly from my own observations and partly from the writings of others. I shall

1. Inquire into the origin of caste.

2. I shall inquire into the sanitary uses of caste, more especially as it concerns the approaching the communion-table promiscuously, as to the sitting together in church or other places, and as to its effect as regards general social intercourse.

3. I shall inquire whether there are not some compensating advantages, as regards caste institutions, which tend in a great measure to neutralise the prejudicial effects that arise from people's sympathies and feelings being confined to the members of their own caste, instead of being evenly distributed over the human race, considered as a whole.

And, first of all, as to the origin of caste—a point which seems to have been thought of no little importance by our caste-condemning missionaries. I confess that I, for my part, do not attach much importance to this question of the origin of caste, and think it of far more importance to ascertain its present bearing and effect. But, as many have raised the question, and asserted that caste had an idolatrous origin, and was the invention of an idolatrous priesthood, it may be worth while to

gather together such facts as we can lay our hands on regarding this somewhat obscure subject. And it seems to me that the first thing we have to do is to clear away the rubbish which has been piled upon it in common with most Indian institutions—to ask what is evidence, and what is not. Our missionaries have asserted that caste can be clearly traced to an idolatrous origin, and that the institution is entirely unaccountable on any other supposition, and they pointed to the Code of Manu in proof of that assertion. But, on referring to Mrs. Manning's valuable work on "Ancient and Mediæval India," we can find no evidence that caste originated in any special way whatever. And we are told, on the authority of Mr. Muir, that the sacred books of the Hindoos contain no uniform or consistent account of the origin of caste, and that the freest scope is given by the individual writers to fanciful and arbitrary conjecture. The story that the castes issued from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Brahma was simply an allegory, which, in the course of time, hardened into a literal statement of fact. The Brahmins, of course, came out of the mouth of Brahma; and, considering that they were the authors and compilers of all the principal books relating to castes and customs, it would have been extremely odd if they had not exalted their own order, and indulged in a tone of Oriental exaggeration which was eminently calculated to deceive, not, perhaps, their successors, but the Englishmen who went to India. But the most curious thing is, that it never seems to have occurred to our missionaries to suspect that what they took as evidence of facts, and of a state of things really existing, was, in reality, only evidence of what an order or set of people could write, with the view of exalting

themselves and depressing the rest of the society amongst which they lived. The Brahmins chose to assert that the castes were of divine origin. They wrote that down and handed it on. We came to India, and, finding these statements ready to hand, have simply swallowed them down, and added them to the number of illusions existing as regards India. But the facts really are, that castes and orders of men sprang up, we don't know exactly how. Brahmin writers described the castes, or at least part of them, and, in the course of time, the writings were said to have caused the castes, instead of the castes having caused the writings.

But whatever may be the facts as regards caste, we know that caste can exist without idolatry, and idolatry without caste; and that though the Brahmins, with their usual desire to incorporate everything in life with religion, gathered caste into their garners, and endeavoured to increase and extend it, still there is fair evidence for asserting that these two institutions have no necessary connection, and that, as it was perfectly possible to wind them up together, so it is perfectly possible to unwind them and produce again an entire separation. In a word, it is perfectly possible for a man to retain caste, not as believing it to be part of his native idolatrous religion, but as believing it to be (what it really was till the Brahmins seized hold of it and attached it to their faith) a civil institution which had sprung up in remote times, and had been inherited by him, just as rank and station are inherited in this country.* And

* As an instance that a man can abandon all religious rites whatever, and retain his caste unimpaired and unaltered, I may mention that my native clerk told me that he had done nothing in the way of religion at all for years; but that, of course, made no difference to him in the eyes of his neighbours, who didn't care what he did, as long as he did not depart from the social customs of

that caste can exist without religion, and alongside of a religion as opposite to Brahminism as Christianity is, we have the most indisputable evidence supplied by the late Sir Emerson Tennent, in his "History of Christianity in Ceylon."

"Caste," he wrote, "as it exists at the present day amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, is purely a social distinction, and entirely disconnected with any sanction or pretensions derivable from their system of religion. Nor is evidence wanting that, even at a comparatively modern period, such was equally its aspect amongst the natives throughout the continent of India, by whom caste was held not as a sacred, but as a secular discrimination of ranks. The earliest notice of India by the Greek historians and geographers enumerates the division of the people into Brahmins, Kistrayas, Vaisyas, and Sudras; but this was a classification which applied equally to the followers of Buddha" (who preached that, in the sight of God, all men were equal) "and of Brahma, nor were the members of either section held ineligible for the offices of the priesthood." And, in the note below, the reader will find additional evidence which will show him that caste in Ceylon, just as it originally was in India, can and does exist merely as a division of ranks, and that it need not at all be necessarily connected with any idolatrous rites or worship.*

his caste. I once said to a native shopkeeper in Bangalore, "What religion are you of?" "Oh!" he answered with a smile, "no religion at all, sir." But I need not trouble the reader with further evidence to show that a man may drop his religion altogether without dropping his caste, and that therefore religion and caste have no necessary connection with one another whatever.

* "Caste, though distinctly denounced by their sacred books, and ostensibly disavowed by the Singhalese themselves, still exists in their veneration for rank, whether hereditary or adventitious. Thus every district and every village has its little leader, a pre-eminence accorded to birth rather than property; and, by a descending scale, certain members of the community, in right of relationship or connection, assume an undefined superiority, and are tacitly admitted to the

Having thus shown how caste did not originate, it may, perhaps, not be altogether superfluous if I hazard a few remarks as to the way in which it did probably originate.

The common idea of caste is, that it is simply a combination of troublesome and fanciful restrictions, imposed upon the various peoples of India by those of the upper classes who desired to keep themselves above the jostling of the crowd. But this institution (if that be a correct term for it) arose naturally and regularly out of the circumstances of the times, and, where these circumstances no longer exist, it will as naturally disappear; and that the last must happen we have seen from the fact that altered circumstances have already caused the commencement of its removal amongst the people of the towns. But the general circumstances which gave birth to caste require a few words of explanation, and the following solution seems not an unnatural one.

We know as a certain fact that peoples to whom we have given the names of Dravidians and Aryans entered

exercise of what is technically called an 'influence.' In the hamlets so universal is this feeling amongst the natives, so habitual the impulse to classify themselves and to look up to some one as their superior in the scale of society, that the custom descends through every gradation of life and its occupations, and in some of the villages the missionaries found it necessary to appoint two schoolmasters, even where there was less than occupation for one—'influence,' as well as ability to teach, being an essential qualification; and if the individual did not possess the former, it was most indispensable to associate with him some other who did.[1] Again, if a village could not furnish a master competent to teach, it was in vain to procure one from a distance; his 'influence' did not extend to that locality, and no pupils could be got to attend. Nor was caste itself without the open avowal of its force, the children of a Vellala or high-caste family being on no account permitted to enter the school-house of a lower-caste master. These are obstacles which prevail in all their original force even at the present day; and in the purely Singhalese districts, such as Matura, the prestige of caste is so despotic, that no amount of qualification in all other particulars can overcome the repugnance to intercourse with those who are deficient in the paramount requisite of rank."—Sir J. E. Tennent's "Christianity in Ceylon," p. 286.

[1] MS. account of Baptist Mission.

India from the north and north-west; that they increased and multiplied, overspread the whole of India, and reduced the aborigines to serfdom. We also know that these tribes from the north, who were, comparatively speaking, fair, looked upon the black, ugly, carrion-eating aborigines with singular disgust. Hence, naturally, must have arisen the opinions as regards Pariahs which all the superior castes hold to this day. Even to have food touched by people of such abominable habits must have been repulsive, and therefore the separation into men of caste and men of no caste, or, in other words, into browns and blacks (for the word for caste means colour), followed as a matter of course. Caste, then, seems naturally to have arisen from the idea that to associate in any way with people of bad habits and grovelling ideas is an intolerable degradation. The superior races, therefore, must have considered it a matter of importance to retreat as far as possible from the habits of the aborigines; and when we take into consideration the influence of religion, the natural ambition of the priestly classes, the splitting up into sects, and the fondness of the Hindoo mind for subtle distinctions, the rest easily follows. But, though numerous castes arose amongst the invaders, the main line of demarcation is still the original one of race—between the races of the north and the aborigines whom they found in possession of India. The base, then, of caste, we may rest assured, was simply the result of a people, or rather of peoples, wishing to keep themselves uncontaminated when coming in contact with a debased population. This was exactly the case with the Jews. They were simply a very strongly-guarded caste, with a number of regulations as to what they were and were

not to eat, and with rules which prohibited them intermarrying or associating with peoples with whom they came in contact. Many of those rules may seem to us ridiculous and fanciful, but they were calculated to prevent the Jews from any chance of adopting the manners and customs of the peoples around them; and the Indians, having had similar views, naturally adopted similar means. Such, then, is a brief generalisation of the causes which led to caste laws, which were, no doubt, carried in some instances to a ridiculous length, but which were founded in common sense, and were admirably adapted to carry into effect the opinions of the superior races.

We have now, in the second place, to consider caste with reference to the approach of native converts to the Lord's table, the sitting apart of the various castes in church, and the effects of caste as regards what is called social intercourse.

The whole difficulty of the caste question, as regards the sacrament, lies in this, namely, that a high-caste vegetarian objects to drink wine at the same time and after a low-caste meat-eater. And here I find a great difficulty in finding words or illustrations that will at all convey the feelings of a high-caste vegetarian at the very idea of drinking after a low-caste carrion-eater. If from the lowest, filthiest, and most poisonous dens in London, you were to take a man reeking with beer and tobacco, and with his clothes crawling with vermin, and presenting, in short, every appearance of foulness, dirt, and disease; if you were to take that man and place him between two ladies at the administration of the Holy Communion, I do not say that they would there and then refuse the sacrament on these terms, but I think

we may be pretty sure that, from sanitary motives, if from no others, they would in future take the sacrament in a place where they would not be liable to such contact. Their feelings and senses would be shocked by such contact as I have imagined, but their sensations would merely bear the same proportion to the sensations of a high-caste vegetarian Hindoo who had to drink after a Pariah that a trifling cause of disgust would bear to the most intolerable and lasting degradation. Now, to people in this country this may seem an extraordinary thing; but they will think it less extraordinary when I tell them that, if I could not take the sacrament unless amongst Pariahs, I would never take it again, unless, perhaps, I was to put myself bodily into one of Professor Tyndall's cotton-gauze air-cleansers, and drink the sacramental wine after it had been boiled at a temperature of 212°, and passed through a filter. And when I talk of the lowest castes as carrion-eaters, I must tell the reader that I am not in the slightest degree guilty of exaggeration, and that they are carrion-eaters in exactly the same sense that vultures are carrion-eaters. In fact, these men never get any meat unless that of animals that have died of disease; and as in these climates decomposition is extremely rapid, the reader can imagine the result of coming in contact with a man who has, perhaps, a few hours before been eating a mass of diseased and half-decomposed meat. And in case the reader should not be able to imagine what the result is, I may mention the following circumstance. A few days after I had killed a bison I had occasion to point out some pieces of sawn wood which I wished to be removed from the jungle to my house, and I accordingly took with me a native overseer, and two coolies to carry the

timber. When I was pointing out the pieces to them, I smelt a strong smell of putrid meat, which seemed to fill the air so entirely that I at once concluded that a tiger must have killed some animal and left the carcass near the spot. My overseer and myself looked about everywhere, but at last happening to pass the coolies, I at once perceived that the smell arose from their breath, and on questioning them, I found that before coming to work they had been feasting on decayed bison flesh. In fact, after killing a bison, we could never go near our coolies for some days afterwards. But to see a party of these men sitting like vultures around the carcass of some animal that has just died of some abominable disease is quite enough to inspire even an unprejudiced European meat-eater with the most wholesome horror; and the reader need not, I think, be surprised at the feelings of disgust which these men's habits inspire amongst the respectable classes of the community. But independently of all feelings of disgust, there are sanitary considerations which are of infinitely more importance. For it so happens that, at a time when the weather is hottest and the season most unhealthy, a larger number of animals die; and I have very little doubt that this eating of rotten meat causes amongst the Pariahs a large quantity of disease, and especially of cholera, which they would not fail to disseminate with fatal certainty amongst all classes, were the native Christians compelled to take the sacrament indiscriminately. And, in my own experience, I have observed that cholera has passed through districts, that the upper classes have been free from it, but that amongst the lower the victims were many. And the same sanitary reasons that apply to the sacrament apply

equally well to the mixing of castes indiscriminately in the churches; for it might so happen, as it frequently does, that fever and cholera may be prevalent amongst the lower castes, while the higher may be at that time comparatively free from such diseases. So that when we take all these points into consideration, we shall find that the German missionaries were perfectly right in placing the men of the higher caste on one side of the church, and those of the lower on the other, and that they were equally right in allowing the higher castes to approach the sacrament at a different time from the lower. I may here remark that I once mentioned this taking of the sacrament in a sort of order of precedence to a clergyman in a country parish, when he told me that exactly the same sort of thing occurred in his parish, and that the lord of the manor invariably took the sacrament first, and, if I recollect rightly, the parish clerk last; and a special instance of this in a Scotch parish was mentioned to me not long ago.

The same sanitary considerations will also naturally be of value when we come to consider that indiscriminate social intercourse which the missionaries so much insist upon as one of the necessary signs of grace. I do not, of course, say that it is not advisable, and that it would not be desirable to see a little more intercourse between class and class than exists at present. But between all the better classes there is a much greater degree of intercourse than our missionaries would have us believe; and it is not true that one caste will eat only the food prepared by a person of his own caste. I cannot, of course, say what may be the case as regards other parts of India; but, as regards my own district, each caste will eat of the food prepared by any of the castes higher,

or at least purer, than its own. For instance, a Gouda, who will not allow that the Lingayet caste is better than his own, will eat of food prepared by a Lingayet, while a Lingayet will not eat of food prepared by a Gouda. And the explanation of this is, that the Lingayet is a vegetarian, and meat might have been boiled in the Gouda's pots, while there would be nothing to offend the Gouda customs in the pots of a vegetarian host. But in these matters I entirely agree with the good Bishop Heber, who said that we had no right to interfere in their private life, or to meddle in any way with their social customs, as long as there was no idolatry in them.

Turning now to the third point I proposed to consider, I have a few remarks to make regarding the only (from a Christian point of view) solid objection that can, I conceive, be made to the institution of separate orders of men; namely, that the tendency of caste is to shut up the bowels of compassion towards all the world outside of a man's particular class. And here I confess that I am very much in want of information, and can think of no unprejudiced individuals to whom to apply for the facts as really existing in other parts of India. As for books, when I look into them for any information, I am at once met by quantities of unlimited condemnations, or a host of contradictory statements. And, as an instance of the latter, I may mention that in Kerr's "Domestic Life of the Natives of India" we are informed, at page 31, that "alms are given to the poor without distinction of caste," while at page 343 of the same volume we are told that "to extend kindness and hospitality to one of a different caste is regarded as sinful." But in matters of this sort we want the

experience of individuals who have actually lived amongst the people, as much as any one can who is not actually one of them. As for my own part of the country, I can answer for it that caste has no such effect as has been alleged to arise from it regarding the extension of hospitality and kindness to people of various castes. And the reader may recollect that, in my chapter on Native Character, I mentioned the fact that I had found members of every caste assembled at the house of a todyman to inquire how he was, and to see whether they could do anything for him. These tody-drawers rank at least third amongst the castes in Munzerabad, and though none of the members of the farmer caste above them would eat of food prepared in a tody-drawer's house, yet there were numbers of both castes present. This feeling would not, that I am aware of, go as far as one of the carrion-eating Pariahs, but I am quite certain that it would extend to any other caste but theirs in the country. But on this point I do not offer any decided opinion, as, for what I know to the contrary, acts of kindness and hospitality may, no doubt, often have been extended even to the lowest. And I may also mention here that I have slept in the verandah of a farmer's house, in which members of the family slept close to some of my people, who were of the tody-drawer caste above alluded to, and who, I am sure, were quite as welcome as members of their own caste would have been. But as regards all these matters concerning the inner life of the people we know nothing, unless we actually live amongst them, and sleep in their houses, and, in fact, see the people at home; and as it is extremely difficult to find any one who has done anything of the kind, it naturally follows

that it is almost impossible to find anything like reliable sources of information regarding native habits throughout India. You may, it is true, stuff your very soul with information of some sort or other, if you go about asking questions, but if you do you will find yourself much in the same predicament that Johnson found himself in his tour to the Hebrides; and the reader may recollect that the worthy doctor very soon found that nothing could be more vague, unsatisfactory, and uncertain than the answers of an unsophisticated simple people, who were not much in the habit of being asked questions of any sort. However, the reader may, in the meantime, reasonably infer that the conduct of the people in the rural districts of India, and situated under similar circumstances, would not materially differ, as regards matters of caste, from the practice as existing in Munzerabad. And should that turn out to be the case, it is plain that those notions, as regards the practice of caste, which have been so industriously circulated in England, are almost entirely false.

I have said that I proposed inquiring, further, whether there are not some compensating advantages in this division of the people into castes which tend, in a great measure, to neutralise the prejudicial effects that arise from people's sympathies and feelings being more or less confined to members of their own caste, instead of being distributed over the human race considered as a whole. Now, it is perfectly true that the tendency of caste is to weaken the claim that humanity in general has on an individual; but though the claim of society in general is weakened, it must be remembered that the claims of each caste on the members of it are strengthened. And though this fact may militate against an enlarged and

Christian philanthropy, the aggregate force of claims will be found to amount to a much larger sum than if one part of a society had no more claim on a man than another. A man of one caste would not, for instance, perhaps feel that a man of another caste had much claim on him; but he would distinctly and strongly feel that a member of his own caste had. And every caste acting on the same principle of supporting and helping its members, I am convinced that the aggregate force of assistance rendered must be greater than in a country where there is little or no caste principle. This may seem a rash assertion, and of course it is one that it is impossible, as far as I am aware, to prove. But the fact that there is not a poor-house from one end of India to the other, seems to me a significant and satisfactory circumstance; and the only way I can account for there being no need of such a thing is,* that caste feeling must often come in where all other aids fail. Nor are we in this country without instances of the value of caste feelings, and both the Jews and the Scotch may still be pointed to as illustrations of what I mean. A Scotchman still has a sort of caste feeling for a Scotchman, and would do things for a man, as a Scotchman, that he would not do for people of either English or Irish descent. This principle may now have lessened, and is, no doubt, daily lessening. But when I started in the world, fifteen years ago, I very soon experienced the benefit of this caste feeling; and, as one illustration to the point, I may mention that, before my estates came into bearing, I was attended in a long and serious illness by two Scotch doctors (one of whom attended on me for six weeks incessantly), both of whom resolutely

* In the large towns this remark might not, perhaps, be justifiable.

declined any remuneration whatever. I cannot, of course, positively assert that these gentlemen would not have attended me on the same terms had I been an Englishman, but, from my general experience with other doctors, I am sure that these gentlemen must have been not a little influenced by caste feeling. And I have no doubt whatever that the way the Scotch get on, wherever they go, is to be attributed, in no small measure, to the existence of the same feeling. It may seem to many of my readers that to use the term caste as a principle which impels one Scotchman to help another is not exactly correct; and I must admit to having some doubts on the subject myself. The case of the Jews, however, admits of none; and, if ever there was a caste of people in the world, in the strict Hindoo sense, they are certainly an unmistakable example. And what are the results of caste feeling with them? As to other parts of the world I have no precise information; but in England I have ascertained from the best authority that caste feeling has produced some extremely favourable results. In the first place, Jews are seldom or never found in our workhouses; and all cases of poverty are carefully investigated by a visiting committee, or board of guardians, and relief or employment is always afforded to every Jewish pauper. Then, again, no Jewish child ever was, and no Jewish child is now, without the means of obtaining elementary instruction; and it would be difficult to find an English Jew unable to read and write. Means are taken to secure the attendance of all poor children, and a sound middle-class education is afforded, while the study of the Hebrew language is compulsory. There are only, it may be added, about twenty Jewish (principally foreigners)

convicts in England, and no female convict is to be found.

Another of the principal complaints brought against caste is the fact that it has a tendency to keep one caste fixed below another; but even here we shall find some compensating considerations which are of great value. For, if caste in this respect has a keeping-down tendency, it has also a levelling one. It may keep one order above another, but within the limits of that caste order it has a levelling tendency, and in one respect the poorest of each class feel themselves on a level with the richest. Nor is a poor man of good caste made to experience the bitter sense of degradation which falls to the lot of a gentleman who, from poverty and misfortune, has fallen out of his original class into another far below him. The Indian may descend into the most humble spheres; but, if he attends to the regulations of his caste, he is always a member of it, and his feelings of self-respect are maintained by the fact that, however poor, it is quite possible that his daughter may be married by a man of wealth and position. But in this country, where a man has gone a long way down the hill, when he has descended—as many gentlemen especially do in our colonies—into the lower ranks of life, he loses all connection with people who are of his own rank by birth. I do not, of course, mean to allege that this want of caste feeling is to be lamented with us, but I am merely stating facts which seem to me to show the number of ways in which this much-reviled caste system can be proved to have compensating advantages which tend to counterbalance the drawbacks of the situation.

Before proceeding to sum up the contents of this chapter,

it may be useful to make a few remarks as to the way in which caste laws act as regards the social condition of people who have by wealth raised themselves above the general average of their order; and I shall, at the same time, notice a few instances that have fallen within my observation as to the way in which caste laws of the most stringent nature are occasionally set aside by universal consent.

The old idea we entertained of caste was that, to use the words of Tennent, "each class is stationed between certain walls of separation, which are impassable by the purest virtue or the most conspicuous merit;" or that, to come to more recent times, and to use the words of the late Mr. Wilson, in his speech before leaving for India, "in India you see people tied down by caste, and, whatever their talents or exertions may be, they cannot rise." Now, the history of many families that have risen to eminence entirely belies this assertion; and the evidences are so numerous, that I need not weary the reader by quoting them. But one instance I may perhaps mention, as the circumstances seem to me somewhat extraordinary, and a reference to them here may induce some one to make more particular inquiries in the locality alluded to. Buchanan notices that "in Bhagulpore there were certain families who, from having adopted a pure life, had, within the memory of man, risen from the lowest dregs of the people to the highest ranks of the nobility." In this instance, however, I cannot help suspecting that the families must have risen on something more substantial than their pure habits. But in matters of this sort we are very much in want (as indeed we are on almost every Indian subject) of more detailed, and particularly substantiated,

evidence. As regards the subject of low castes raising themselves in the social scale, I know of no instances that have fallen within my own observation; but I have obtained information from other parts of Mysore, the truth of which I have no reason to doubt, although I would advise the reader to receive what I have to say on this point with the same caution that he should receive all information which is even in the smallest degree removed from the experience of personal observation. With this caution I may, then, observe that, from information I have received, I have ample reason to believe that, in the interior of Mysore, there are many families of Pariahs who are as well off, in point of cattle, cash, and land, as the average of the farmer caste, notwithstanding that the forefathers of these Pariahs were merely the servants of the farmer tribe. Nor is this all. Many instances, I believe, may be pointed out of members of the farmer tribe being the tenants of the once-despised Pariah. The Pariah, it is true, does not reap all the advantages from his altered circumstances that might be expected in other countries, but it is a mistake to suppose that wealth does not tell in India, as it does elsewhere. The well-to-do Pariah (and in the Nuggur division of Mysore I am told there are many such) receives that respect which is invariably paid to those who have much substance. He no longer stands respectfully without the verandah of a farmer of ordinary position, but takes his seat in the verandah itself, and on terms of perfect equality. But the farmer will not eat with his visitor, nor give him his daughter in marriage. This, to us, would be a disagreeable reflection, no doubt; but, in their present political state, I cannot see that the happiness or prosperity of the people is in any way

...d have been erected to one of the best and most ...lfish men I have ever met. When Mr. W—— ... late manager) unhappily died on the estate, this ...seer in question (who, I may mention, was one of ... party that forcibly opposed my clearing the forest ...m I started in 1856), understanding that it was ...sidered by us as an honour to the deceased, volun-...red to make one of the carrying party. This extra-...inary determination was absolutely forbidden by the ...te potail, or head man, who was present; but Rama ...uda * showed the same coolness and resolution that he ...ays did in the case of a bear or a tiger, and simply ...ing, "Let my caste go to-day," he made one of ... carrying party, in spite of every remonstrance. ...undreds of all castes were present, but so strong ...ere their feelings of regard for Mr. W——, that no ...tice whatever was taken of the offence, which was so ...ublicly committed. The repugnance of all castes, ...cept the very lowest, to touching the body of a ...uropean, is very well known to every one who has been ...n India, and so fearful was the caste head man of sanc-...oning, even with his presence, this violation of caste ...aw, that he immediately went home.

In the next instance I have to give, one of the Lin-gayet caste (vegetarians, and abstainers from intoxicating drinks) was wounded by a tiger, and there was a caste question raised, as to whether, under the circumstances, he should take wine. The occurrence came about in this way. Some miles from my house I once wounded a tiger, somewhat late in the day, and, owing to the broken ...d, and a general confusion that

...ly tack on the word "Gouda" to their

seemed to take possession of the people, it seemed impos-
sible to bring the affair to a satisfactory conclusion, so I
went home. The following morning I returned to take
up the track of the tiger, but it was unluckily reported
that the animal had quitted the jungle we had left him
in, so the party (I having been posted at a point where
the tiger would probably break cover, in case the report
should prove false), it appears, blundered carelessly into
the place where the animal had been last seen the evening
before. Now, this particular spot was full of a long sor
of reed that grows in swampy ground, so that the peopl
could not see far before them, and, to make a long stor
short, it seems that the tiger bided his time, sprang
suddenly into the party, and gave one of them a fata
bite in the loins. The moment I heard the three roars
I expected that something disagreeable must hav
occurred, and at once called for my sandwiches, partly t
fill up the time that would elapse before intelligence o
what had occurred should reach me, and in order tha
my stomach and nervous system might not be affecte
by attending to any man who might be wounded. O
arrival at the scene of events, I found a fine youn
fellow of the Lingayet caste lying bathed in blood, an
my people vainly endeavouring to stanch the wounds
He was half swooning away from loss of blood, and
offered him some wine to keep up his strength. This
however, he refused to take, unless the head man of hi
village, who happened to be present, would consent
The head man, evidently wishing to shirk the responsi
bility, shook his head doubtfully; but the members c
his caste all called out—"It's no matter; let him drink;"
and he drank accordingly. While this was going on,
had a rough stretcher made, and, doing up his wounds a

well as we could, sent him off on the way to his village. While we were attending to the wounded man, rather an amusing incident occurred. It appears that when the tiger charged, one of the party, a tody-drawer, at once climbed up a tree, and when the party retreated, carrying off the wounded, he was afraid to come down. His absence had not been remarked, and when we were engaged in doing up the wounded man, the todyman, who had taken heart and come down, slunk quietly out of the jungle, and startled some of the party not a little, as they thought that it was perhaps the tiger coming down on them again. However, this todyman reported that the tiger was still almost in the same spot where he had been lying when he made his attack; and I then proposed we should go into the jungle, and see how we liked the look of him. But the tiger had given such indications of temper that the main body of the people seemed to have no desire to see him again, and I think that only ten (and those mostly my own tenants) accompanied me. As I was, Europeanly speaking, single-handed, this may have seemed an imprudent course, and no doubt it was not altogether unattended with danger; but it luckily turned out that the tiger was stone dead, though he was lying in such a natural position that we had some doubts as to whether he might not be shamming, even when we got within fifteen yards of him. As we were skinning the tiger, the wounded man (who had by that time only been carried a few hundred yards) expired; so, observing that it was "written on his forehead," * we took up our man and our skin, and went home.

* The natives imagine that every man's fate is written in invisible characters on his forehead.

These instances of infringement of caste rules will show the reader the way in which they are sometimes abandoned; and I could mention other minor points where I have seen them occasionally abandoned. But not only are these rules thus, on urgent occasions, summarily set aside, but within a very short distance I have observed an alteration of custom. For instance, on our side of the river which separates our county from the next, neither the farmers nor the tody-drawers will eat of an animal that has even been touched after death by a Pariah; whereas, on the other side of the river, the Pariahs who came out shooting not only touched, but carried a couple of wild boars we had killed. And yet the people on one side of the river were exactly of the same caste as those on the other. But the fact seems to be, that many of the minor points of what is called caste law have arisen from some accident, and in the course of time have hardened into local customs.

And here, before bringing this chapter to a close, I find it impossible to refrain from again alluding to the numerous instances where caste has been made the common scapegoat of every Indian difficulty. What is the meaning of this? What is the meaning of that? Why won't the natives do this, and why won't they do that? Caste—and caste is the common refuge; and with most of our countrymen who have tried to introduce new customs or a new religion, caste has ever been a handy and convenient peg on which to hang any difficulties they may meet with, or any problem they cannot readily solve. In short, it is hard to say what difficulty has not been disposed of in this fashion. Let us glance at two instances to illustrate my meaning.

For the first instance I cannot select, perhaps, a

better example than that afforded by the Rev. G. U. Pope, in the notes he has made when editing a second edition of the valuable work of the Abbé Dubois. And, in alluding to these foot-notes, it is impossible to repress some feeling of annoyance that the valuable work of the Abbé should, in an evil hour, have fallen into the hands of a writer who has thought fit often, in a few brief and contemptuous words, summarily to dismiss and overrule those conclusions which were the result of a life spent on more intimate terms with natives than any I have ever been able to hear of. And Mr. Pope's statements are the more calculated to impose on the general reader, as he speaks of having had "more than twenty years of a somewhat intimate intercourse with the Hindoos;" the fact being that he spent the greater part (in fact, all but a few years, as far as I have been able to ascertain) as head of the Grammar School on the Neilgherry Hills, where he had no more opportunity of having any intercourse with natives than a Hindoo would have of gaining experience of the natives of England, were he to take up his residence on the Grampians, and interchange a few words occasionally with the shepherds of those mountains. But as to what caste has done. "Caste," says Mr. Pope, "has prevented the Hindoos from availing themselves of the opportunities afforded them of acquiring the sciences, arts, and civilisation of nations with whom they have come into contact." Caste, "the great petrifier," we are again told, is the real cause of the stagnation that everywhere abounds. Caste, again, "upholds immutable distinctions by arbitrary and absurd laws, which are enforced by irresponsible authority, and maintains a standard of right and wrong entirely independent of

the essential principles of moral science;" and, in order that everything may be included at one blow, we are finally told, in a note appended to the remarks of the Abbé on the moral and social advantages of caste, that "caste, and its offspring custom, are among the hindrances to all good in India."

But it is still more curious to observe how men of intelligence and observation can be led, by the force of inherited opinion, into statements as to the effects of caste which are actually contradicted by their own experience. And in Mr. Raikes's interesting work, "Notes of the North-Western Provinces," we find an instance of how people will always attribute everything to this universal bugbear. Observing on the pride of high caste, "which withers whatever it touches," Mr. Raikes informs us that the Brahmins and Rajpoots of the rich province of Benares will not touch the plough, owing to pride of caste. He next tells us that caste is little regarded to the north of Allahabad, where, from various causes, the demand for labour is greater. All of which, being traced to its true cause, simply amounts to this, namely, that where landed proprietors of good family are well off, they naturally do not care to work, and that in another part of the country, where they are not well off, or cannot find labour, they do work. In the same way, the author, after telling us that infanticide has at one time or other been common all over the world, tells us that in India it is entirely caused by caste. Now, if we take caste to mean family pride solely, it certainly has influenced the matter, or at least tended to maintain the evil complained of; but I know of one instance, at least, in India, where infanticide can be traced to satisfactory causes, and amongst a people who

have always been observed to be remarkably free from what are called caste prejudices. The Toda tribe, on the Neilgherry Hills, are polyandrists, and, in order to keep down the number of the tribe, they naturally had recourse to female infanticide. This they have now abandoned, and my Toda guide very soon told me the reason. He said, "Formerly we used to kill the females, because we had little more than the produce of our buffaloes to depend on; but now that more people have flocked to the hills we can let our lands, and get plenty to eat." He added, also, that the Government had ordered them not to kill their children; but, unless their means had improved, it is plain that a Government order would have had little effect. But, as regards this subject of infanticide, it seems to be a thing difficult to avoid, whenever conditions arise which are favourable to its extension; nor will repressive measures alone ever place any very complete check upon it. Like every other demand, it rises and falls with the necessities of the situation, and can never be originally caused by anything in the shape of caste feelings or regulations. And, in accordance with the necessities of the situation, we see that in this country it has arisen to what some may call an alarming extent, and the disclosures of baby-farming show that infanticide has here become thoroughly naturalised. But it unfortunately seems that infanticide under repression operates more disadvantageously than infanticide which has been unrestrained by penal enactments; and we need not require any very lengthened arguments to show that unrestricted infanticide is at once more merciful and more effectual than that miserable copy which our civilisation has compelled people to have recourse to here. I do not, of course,

blame our legislation on these subjects; I am merely pointing to the results of restricted freedom, and it is impossible to refrain from coming to the conclusion that this restriction of free action, if it has limited some evils (which may be doubted), has also caused others which have a more than counterbalancing effect. A tribe or race of people, foreseeing evils of various kinds that must arise from over-population, takes effectual means of limiting the evils by inflicting a momentary physical pain on a being insensible to any other feeling. The objects selected for destruction being those which cause a multiplication of the evil from which the people wish to be delivered, they therefore march upon their object with a clearly-defined method. But in this country, the remedy, which a multiplicity of causes has called into action, acts fitfully, and acting timidly and indecisively, an immense amount of suffering ensues from the slow doing to death of those unhappy children, the remains of which are so frequently discovered. But here I find that, instead of closing this chapter, I am insensibly wandering into a discussion as to what may be called comparative infanticide, a subject which I fancy is well-nigh inexhaustible. The matter, however, is one of considerable interest, and my object in alluding to it at such length is merely with the view of inducing others, whenever they meet with infanticide in India, or in other parts of Asia, to trace out the causes that have led to it. One thing, however, we may consider as certain, and that is, that infanticide must always originate from the necessities of the situation; and amongst these necessities I, of course, include the desire to avoid shame, or the prospect of shame in the family, or starvation, as well as the fact that women are an encumbrance to some

tribes. Some people, I may add, are under the impression that polyandric habits, when once established, become necessarily a cause of infanticide. But we have no means of knowing that this was ever the case, while the Coorgs may be pointed to as a race who once were polyandrous, but who were never, that I am aware of, accused of infanticide. The explanation of this, I apprehend, is to be found in the fact that their circumstances were comfortable enough to preclude any necessity for keeping down the population.

It is time now that I should bring this chapter to a close, and I accordingly proceed to sum up those conclusions which I assume to have been established; but in doing so I shall, however, merely take notice of those points which seem to me to be of paramount importance.

In the first place, then, we compared the morality of our British counties, as regards the connection of the sexes and the use of alcohol, with the morality of the Indian county of Munzerabad; and, having come to the conclusion that the morality of Munzerabad is superior, I think we are justified in concluding that the morality of Munzerabad, being mainly maintained by caste, the laws of caste have acted more effectually than all the religious instruction that has for centuries been lavished on the people of this country; or, to put the case in shorter terms, we may assert that, as regards the branches of morality alluded to, caste has beaten Christian influences.

In the next place, we took into consideration the action of our missionaries as regards caste, and, having seen that they have always insisted on their converts entirely renouncing customs which can be proved to produce the most valuable results, we came to the con-

clusion that it has been a fortunate thing for India that its peoples have rejected our hide-bound interpretation of Christianity. We then inquired as to whether the missionaries had any right to debar from the advantages of Christianity those who, wishing to become Christians, yet desired to retain their social customs; and, having come to the conclusion that there is nothing idolatrous in these customs, we have distinctly asked those interpreters of Christianity whom we have in India to tell us by whose authority they have ventured to act in a way which, as has been shown, the apostles never did as regards the prejudices of their Jewish converts. And generally, as regards the action of our missionaries in this matter, we have felt ourselves justified in asserting that our English missions have inflicted an incalculable injury on the cause of Christianity, by presenting it to the people of India as something that must necessarily tear the whole framework of their society to pieces.

We then inquired more particularly into the origin of caste, and, having seen that it never could have originated in the way our missionaries suppose it to have done, we hazarded a conjecture as to the way in which it probably did originate, and saw grounds for supposing that the distinctions of caste came naturally about, and that they were in principle calculated to effect exactly the same ends that the Jewish lawgivers had in view when they framed that Levitical law which effectually prevented the Jews from mingling socially with the races they lived amongst. We then looked at caste from a sanitary point of view, and came to the conclusion that, in consequence of the carrion-eating habits of the lowest castes, and of their liability to transmit the germs of

disease, the rules which prevented them from coming into contact with the higher castes, either in the way of taking the sacrament, or in any other way, are of the greatest value. We next inquired into the effects of caste as regards social intercourse, and especially as regards the exercise of hospitality amongst people of different castes, and saw reason to think that the restrictions of caste, with, perhaps, the exception of the very lowest, formed no bar whatever to the exercise of hospitality. Glancing subsequently at the action of caste feeling in confining the sympathies of individuals more especially to the members of their own caste, we came to the conclusion that though caste had undoubtedly the effect of contracting the feelings within a narrow circle, there was to be found a compensating advantage in the fact that the claims of caste produced, in the aggregate, a greater amount of charity, and, in short, were calculated to produce a better general result than would be arrived at in the absence of caste feelings. And, as illustrations of the advantages of this caste feeling, we pointed to the fact of there being no poorhouses in India, and especially to the Jews in England, as affording an example of the favourable effects of caste feeling. After this, we pointed to the fact that, though caste had the effect of keeping one caste or order of men above another, it had also a levelling tendency within each caste, and produced an important point of equality which no poverty can destroy. We then took into consideration some facts which seemed to show that families could raise themselves to a higher rank in society by adopting the purer habits of the classes above them; and we also saw that the influence of wealth does, to a very great degree, elevate a man of low caste in the

social scale. We next saw reason to suppose that we have hitherto been labouring under very exaggerated notions as to the stringency of caste regulations, and two instances were given to illustrate the way in which caste laws are sometimes set summarily aside. And, finally, we pointed out, and gave some illustrations to prove, that, with most of our countrymen who have either tried to introduce new customs or in any way to alter native habits of action, caste has ever been made, and very unjustly made, the common scapegoat.

One word more. The absolute good that caste has done may be briefly summed up. It has acted as a strong moral police, and as a preserver of order and decorum in the community,* and it has prevented the spread of bad habits and customs, more especially that of drinking, as far as large numbers of the people are concerned.† On the other hand, caste is said to have hindered the progress of the people taken as a whole. But in every instance where we have really tried the introduction of any art, the removal of any public crime (as suttee and human sacrifice, for instance), the improvement of any cultivation, the introduction of education, or of new means of moving from place to place, we have either found caste to be no impediment at all, or an impediment so slight as not to be worth mentioning.

* Abbé Dubois.

† It is satisfactory to learn that caste feelings and regulations have a favourable influence with natives, even when they go to a foreign country; and it is equally satisfactory to quote the evidence of a gentleman who laughs at caste as an absurd custom. Mr. W. Labonadière, in his work of "The Coffee Planter in Ceylon," writes as follows: "The coolies who resort to Ceylon are of various castes. Those mostly preferred by planters are the low castes, such as 'polleus' (*sic*), shanars, and pariahs, as being more accustomed to and fit for hard work; but, as a class, they are more given to drink, spend their money more freely, and are more quarrelsome than the higher classes, whom their caste forbids to drink arrack or spirits, and who are more cleanly in their habits, better behaved (as fearing to lose caste), who have land of their own on the coast, and are more interested in working regularly and gaining their wages to take away with them."

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION.

When, talking about the Indian faith, Dean Swift said that "to me the difference appears little more than this, that they are put oftener upon their knees by their fears, and we by our desires," he hit with exact accuracy the prevailing features in the thoughts and feelings expressed in Asiatic as compared with European religions. We look forward to something positive; and our prayers are full of expressions which show that we not only expect a cessation of evil, and pain, and sorrow, but the accession of positive and exalted happiness. They, on the other hand, want merely to be let alone, and to be allowed a perfect rest from pain, and care, and worry. We look forward to a glorious resurrection, when the soul, some think directly, and others think after having gone through a purgatory process, shall enter into possession of supreme happiness. Their ideas, at the best, are only that we shall go through purgatory in order to be punished for what we have done wrong; and as to what may come after, they do not know, nor apparently do they much care. Nor, because we find in their older writings hopes of happiness hereafter, does that at all alter the general facts as regards the body of the people. They are still, as ever, sent to their knees

by their fears, and this, too, entirely irrespective of the speculative opinions as expressed in the ancient Hindoo or Buddhist writings. And everywhere do we find the same spirit prevailing. James Bruce asked the people in Ceylon why they thought so much of their devil-worship, and took so little heed of Buddha. "Oh!" they answered, "Buddha is a good god, and he won't do us any harm, while devils will bring upon us all manner of evils;" and throughout India we find exactly the same principle. We find everywhere a vague belief in the one great God who delights not in harming mankind, and we find a positive and active belief in some evil-working spirit who requires to be constantly worshipped, and whose natural feelings of ill-will to man require to be repeatedly and incessantly appeased. With us the devil was never worshipped, and has now quite gone out of fashion; with them he is supreme. Let us inquire for a few moments into the causes of his supremity.

In considering these Asiatic peoples we must not consider them as merely putting up with the devil, on the principle that one thing is good until you have found a better. We must consider them as a people who have had a choice offered to them, and chances afforded of selecting one of two principles for adoration and worship. I do not say that both principles were offered simultaneously; on the contrary, it is probable that the evil principle was the only one that at all came home to them in the first instance; but it is certain that, in the Buddhism of Ceylon and the Brahminism of India, the people had a sufficient basis of information to go on, and exalted conceptions of the Deity presented for adoption, or at least within reach, if they had had an appetite to imbibe them. In short, they had a choice

between a religion in which are to be found lofty conceptions of good, and exalted examples of virtue and piety, and a system of paying homage to evil-working spirits, through whom it was imagined that all pain, and evil, and sorrow are brought about in this world. And the general result was, that they took to a great deal of devil-worshipping, and a very little, or in some instances none, of the worship of the great Ruler of the universe. From the devil they expected a great deal of harm and no good, and from God they expected no harm, nor any especial benefit. Now, the question is, what made them take this view and cling to it? and how is it, for instance, that to this day, when the hour of trial, and of pain, and sickness comes, the people converted to Christianity in Ceylon send for the devil-worshippers, though they are often turned out of the Christian church for so doing? The answer is simple, and has been made a hundred times before; but simple as it is, it is not so easily to be realised by people who, not having very much imagination, or never having been in tropical climates, are unable to realise the action on the mind of nature on a grand and overwhelming scale. But when we come to contrast the course and forces of nature in the tropics with the milder phenomena of Europe, we shall see little reason to wonder at the tendency to superstition being greater and more permanent in the East than in the West. When we come to consider that in Europe man is not held down by famines and by pestilence, that he has not been disturbed by storms of terrific violence, nor depressed by nature on the grandest and gloomiest scale, we cease to wonder at the bolder tone he takes, and that he endeavours more and more to assume an ascendency over nature. And in Europe itself, though

in a milder form, we see the same tendency prevailing; and accordingly we find in the mountaineers of the Tyrol and the Scottish Highlands a thousand superstitious fancies which are unknown to those who live amongst the quiet home-scenery of the civilised and cultivated regions. Nor in the tropical countries themselves are we without degrees of superstition, advancing and receding with the aspect of the scenery, and the violence or mildness of the phenomena of nature. On the western frontier hills, where the south-west monsoon bursts with tremendous force, and where man lives contiguous to those vast and gloomy forests which form the boundary between the civilisation of the table-land and the inhabited parts of the low country, the people are a thousand times more superstitious than they are in the open plains of the interior of the province. On the wild border-land the storm-gods come driving along, filling the air, and riding on the whirlwind, and the woods, and hills, and pools in the recesses of the forest are haunted and peopled with mysterious sprites, to whom man feels bound to pay homage under pain of incurring all manner of evils; but in the rolling plains of the table-land, where there is nothing of gloom or of grandeur, and where gentle showers and a tamer landscape take the place of those torrents of rain and those black masses of cloud which for weeks together shut out all signs of sun, moon, and stars, superstitious fancies are proportionately few, and man pays little heed, in consequence, to those principles of evil which are so assiduously worshipped in the wild mountains of the frontier.

We have now taken a general view of the situation, and of the fact that the religious system in vogue amongst the Indians consists of a devil-worship, varying

in intensity according to the general surroundings of the people, and of a knowledge and limited degree of worship of the great Ruler of the universe under one or other of his various manifestations.

Let us now take account of this worship of the great beneficent Ruler of the universe, the God of the ancient Vedic faith.

About twelve hundred years before Christ came upon the earth, there were collected a number of prayers and hymns somewhere in Northern India.* When and by whom they were composed is entirely uncertain. We only know that they were gathered together, that they were written in Sanscrit, that the work is the oldest known to exist in India, and that it is called the Rig-Veda. To the Rig-Veda were appended treatises called Brâhmanas, and after the Brâhmanas we come to a class of compositions called Aranyakas and Upanishads. Following on these, we arrive at the various systems of Hindoo philosophy. It is not, of course, my intention to attempt an account, or even the briefest analysis, of these ancient writings; and I only mention them with the view of alluding to certain general principles which are contained in what may be called the Hindoo scriptural books, and which are of the deepest interest, as showing what man's feelings and aspirations were in those ancient times—how man yearned to comprehend his God, how he speculated on the origin of the universe, and the ultimate destiny of the soul, and how he recognised the existence of sin, and strove to repent and be delivered from it. And on this acknowledgment of sin and desire for deliverance it is impossible to help quoting, as we pass along, that old Rig-Vedic prayer:—

* See Appendix E.

"May our sin, Agni, be repented of.

"Thou whose countenance is turned to all sides, art our defend may our sin be repented of. Do thou convey us in a ship across t sea for our welfare: may our sin be repented of."

And equally impossible is it to pass over this touchi Hindoo litany:—

"Let me not yet, O Varuna, enter into the house of clay; ha mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

"If I go along trembling, like a cloud driven by the wind; ha mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

"Through want of strength, thou strong and bright God, hav gone to the wrong shore; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

"Thirst came upon the worshipper, though he stood in the mi of the waters; have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

"Whenever we men, O Varuna, commit an offence before t heavenly host; whenever we break thy law through thoughtlessne have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!"

And in another hymn it is touchingly pleaded—

"It was not our doing, O Varuna, it was necessity, an intoxicati draught, passion, dice, thoughtlessness. The old is near to misle the young; even sleep brings unrighteousness."

Here, then, we have decisive evidence of the reco nition of sin, and the need for repentance. From th base naturally followed the idea of sacrifice for t remission of sins and the purification of the soul. A accordingly we find, in the ceremonies of the Son sacrifice, a complete system by which man is cleans from sin and born again; and by the drinking of t juice of the Soma-plant, which becomes itself divin man participates in the nature of the Deity.

"We've quaffed the Soma bright,
And are immortal grown;
We've entered into light,
And all the gods have known.

"What mortal now can harm,
Or foeman vex us more?
Through thee, beyond alarm,
Immortal God, we soar."

In these books, then, we see the doctrine of one God, of the perception of sin, the need for repentance, the necessity for being born again, the doctrine of sacrifice with the view of being reconciled, the fact of a juice being drunk which was of divine nature, the entry of something divine into the nature of man, and the rising of the purified soul to God.

Whether these doctrines that were thought out of old were ever preached in earnest we have no means of knowing; but whether they were or not, we know as a fact that they must have been unsuited to the times, and to the intelligence of the people, and that, consequently, they bore no fruit. But though it has been complained that the worship and doctrines of the old Hindoos did not take a more practical turn, and push forward the mind into inquiries more advantageous to humanity, it must not therefore be supposed that doctrines so sublime passed through the air like a ship through the water, and left no trace behind. It was not for nothing that these old sages taught that God "is of infinite power, the ruler of the universe; that God is the gift of charity, the offering, the fire of the altar; that by God the sacrifice is performed; and that God is to be obtained by him who makes God alone the object of his works." It was not for nothing that God was made to speak, and say, "If any one offer me a leaf, a flower, fruit, or water with devotional intent, I accept it. Those who worship me with devotion dwell in me, and I also in them. Even women, Vaisyas, and Sudras take the highest path, if they come to me. Whatsoever thou doest, that do as an offering to me." It was not for nothing that they prayed, "From the unreal lead me to the real; from darkness lead me to light; from death to immortality."

Nor was it in vain that they taught that "the man who, performing the duties of life, and, quitting all interest in them, placeth them upon God, floats like a lotus on a lake, unruffled by the tide."

The effect of those waves of truth which originated with these old philosophers seems, at first sight, to have passed away as some empty sound, and to have been lost for ever. But truth once attained is never lost. It may be buried under the aberrations of ages; it may be smothered by the designs of an ambitious priesthood, and those heaps of eccentric novelties which the rambling nature of man delights to accumulate. But it is like latent heat and stored-up forces, which are not the less existent because our senses are unable immediately to detect them. In spite of every obstacle, those sublime doctrines have been handed on from generation to generation. They might burn dimly, but they still burned on, and every now and then struggled to the light. They appeared in Nanak, who established the faith of the Seiks. They came to the surface when Dâdû, the cotton-cleaner, preached, "Draw forth your mind from within, and dedicate it to God; because, if ye subdue the imperfections of your flesh, ye will think only of God." They came forth again in Tukaram, the shopkeeper, who promulgated doctrines as pure as ever emanated from the lips of man, and who taught that religious ceremonies and outward acts have no power to release from sin, and that, without faith, all is vain. Amongst those who have adopted the tenets of the Brahmo Somaj, these ancient doctrines have burst forth anew with a light and fervour that will never die. To the present day, amongst the rude hill-men of Munzerabad, the doctrine of the unity of God is still alive.

Just as life has been found in the polar ice, and in the lowest beds of the Atlantic, and just as it will again be found in many an unlooked-for place, so, when we bring a more delicate or searching observation to bear, do we find unexpectedly, and in corners where you would not be inclined to suspect its existence, a knowledge of the unity of God, and a groundwork from which we may safely build. "Why do you worship these various gods?" I once said to a rude, unsophisticated hill-man. "God is one." "I know that," he answered; "these are merely the peons of the great God." And in one of the ancient books God is made to say, "Those who worship the indivisible, unmanifested, omnipresent, are esteemed the most devoted; but the labour of directing thought to an object without manifest form is great, and with difficulty attained by mortals, and worship is recommended under the manifested form." "Why," again, I have often asked, "do you worship that image? Can any good come from a stone?" and the invariable answer was, "This, Wisdom, is only a form" (roopa).

How the sacerdotal tribe from whom the priests were selected gradually rose to power does not seem to be exactly known. But though we cannot mark the steps of their progress, we know that they took the steps that all priests must take who wish to command and maintain a dominant position; and even if we did not know the means they adopted, we might, from our knowledge of man, as safely infer them. Man being man on the banks of the Tweed, the Tiber, and the Ganges, we naturally find the Brahmin priest, the Roman Catholic priest, and the Scotch minister of the seventeenth century doing precisely the same things. We find them claiming

to be the sole interpreters of the sacred books, and the sole ministers of God on earth; and we find them establishing and regulating schools and colleges, and training up man in the groove they thought it best for him to work in. And the difficulties of the Brahmins seem to have been much the same as those of the Western priests. They had considerable difficulty in maintaining their authority, and found it no easy matter to obtain as much money as they thought to be their due. Their disciples were ever departing from the faith, and abandoning, or rather neglecting, the Brahminical worship to run after strange gods. But Brahminism never seems to have been the curse of India in the same sense that the persecuting priest became the curse of many a country in Europe. They were either wiser than their brethren in Europe, or they had not the same opportunities of doing evil; and hence it was that their influence remained unshaken, and was upheld with little change from generation to generation, and we may even say for thousands of years. But that power, so long maintained, has been shaken to its base, and already has almost crumbled away before that vast wave of thought which, emanating from the West, has silently spread from one end of India to the other, till in the remotest jungles it is boldly said that no one cares about the Brahmins now. And what is it we see rising amongst the ruins of these ancient forms of worship? And the answer comes, "Nothing, literally nothing."

I am now, with an object which will be distinctly declared further on, going to give at considerable length an account of the life, and a number of quotations from the writings, of an old Maharatta poet, who lived about the end of the sixteenth and the commencement of the

seventeenth century. The life and translations I take entirely from a most interesting article by Sir Alexander Grant, which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* some years ago. And I quote these translations in particular, not because the sentiments contained in them are anything new, but because the well-known abilities of the translator afford ample proof that the writings of the Maharatta poet have been rendered with all possible accuracy and faithfulness. And in case to the English reader these sentiments of the poet may seem too exalted and pure to have emanated from any one who had not read the Bible, I may mention that these translations are alluded to at considerable length in "Mission Life," by a native, who signs himself "A Converted Brahmin." This gentleman, indeed, takes some exception to the translation of one or two terms; but he assures the reader that, so far from Tukaram's preaching containing anything uncommon, sentiments far more exalted can be found in the Bhagavata and other ancient Hindoo writings. And it is certainly satisfactory to have evidence from such a source that Tukaram's sentiments are rather below than above the tone of thought as expressed in the ancient Hindoo books.

Some time between the years 1588 and 1649 there lived, ten miles from Poona, and in the village of Dehu, a shopkeeper called Tukaram. He is said to have had two wives, and to have been rather unhappy in his domestic circumstances. Stories, too, are related to show his extreme simplicity and ignorance of worldly matters, and these are all the circumstances connected with his private life that we have any tradition of. He was of the sect of Vithoba-worshippers, which appears to have arisen in the fourteenth century. About this sect there

seems to be some difference of opinion; but Dr. Stevenson describes the worshippers of Vithoba as Bauddho-Vaishnavas, or a mixture of Buddhism with Vishnu-worship. But we have little to do here with the tenets of the sect that Tukaram belonged to, as our business is mainly to take a general survey of his feelings as shown in his works. We may, therefore, pass on to a consideration of his writings without further remark. But, before doing so, it may be as well to mention that about one hundred and fifty years after the worthy shopkeeper's death, his biography was written by the religious pôet Mahipati, and here, of course, we find ourselves surrounded by the atmosphere of miraculous legend.

Tukaram, we are told, proceeded to the bank of the river Indrayani, where he composed certain songs and bade farewell to his friends. Then appeared a heavenly chariot, brighter than the sun, and the eyes of all were blinded as if by lightning; whereupon Tukaram entered the chariot and ascended to heaven, and the holy men he left on earth saw a long path leading into the world above; they heard bells ringing, and heavenly choristers praising God; and thus Tukaram departed. This happened in the morning; and the people, expecting his return, waited until the evening, when all went away but his fourteen disciples, who remained and continued fasting for three days. On the fifth day his cymbal and cloak fell down, whereupon they departed, and, having bathed, went to the temple. Now, Tukaram had promised, while yet on earth, to a certain Lingayet shopkeeper, to appear to him at his death, and accordingly, when the hour of death had arrived, Tukaram appeared; but the shopkeeper alone could perceive him, and though

he put sweet-smelling powder on Tukaram's forehead, and hung garlands around his neck, his friends saw no form but the garlands only, suspended apparently in the air. "To faithful men," says his biographer, "Tukaram still appears, and of this we have many witnesses. This Tukaram," he concludes, "the friend of the world, the good teacher, has been found by us. He dwells in the hearts of all. Through him has this book been composed."

There have been, and still are, many disputes amongst the Hindoos as to the best method of attaining God. Some think that there is no road like the road of faith; others, again, place reliance on the road of works; while others, again, think that the road of knowledge is the only one. Tukaram, however, pronounced decidedly in favour of the road of faith. And in doing so, he acted similarly to Dâdû, the cotton-cleaner, who, like Tukaram, attached the greatest importance to bhakti, a term which Sir Alexander Grant translates as faith, but which, according to Mrs. Manning, consists of a union of implicit faith with incessant devotion. When this was attained they thought it to be superior to works or knowledge. The Brahmins, on the other hand, taught the doctrine of a varied and expensive ceremonial, combined with good works and the pursuit of knowledge. The first was obviously a religion for the poor, and the second for the rich. And here we cannot fail to be struck with the exact resemblance between these opposite doctrinal opinions and those of the Calvinists and Arminians. The Calvinistic reliance on faith cost far less than the Arminian reliance on works. The cotton-cleaner and the shopkeeper had a natural tendency to exalt their cheap faith—which was within the reach of

the poorest, and placed the poorest and richest on an equality—over the expensive ceremonies of the Brahminical teachers. Nor will it satisfy man to say that a little work effected by him who has little is as much in the sight of God as much work effected by him who has much. The poor man would rather be put in a position where not even the shadow of apparent difference can be found. That position he absolutely obtains by the doctrines of faith and devotion, and these doctrines he naturally prefers. Hence, as an eminent author has shown, Calvinism is a sign of the democratic, and Arminianism of the aristocratic spirit. When society tends to equality, the former has a tendency to prevail, while the latter is predominant when the upper classes are very high and the lower very low.

I now proceed to give the whole of such portions of Tukaram as seem best to illustrate the tone of thought and feeling expressed by the Maharatta poet; and I purposely abstain from all comment, as it is better to allow Tukaram to speak entirely for himself. An explanatory note, however, has here and there been added.

I.

"Sing the song with earnestness, making pure the heart;
If you would attain God, then this is an easy way.
Make your heart lowly, touch the feet of saints,
Of others do not hear the good or bad qualities, nor think of them.
Tukâ says,—'Be it much or little, do good to others.'"

II.

"If you regard another's wife as your mother, what loss is it?
If you refrain from blaming others or coveting their wealth, is this any pain? Tell me,
If when you sit down, you utter the name of Râma, what labour is that?
Tukâ says,—'To obtain God, no other efforts are necessary.'"

III.

"There is no need to place the child in the mother's hands—
By her own instinct she draws it to her.
Why should I take thought? He whose business it is, will be responsible.
Without its asking, the mother keeps sweet things for the child,
(Else) in eating them she feels no satisfaction.
When it is engaged in play she seeks and brings it;
Sitting down, she presses it close to her breast.
When it is sick, she is restless as the parched corn on the fire.
Tukâ says,—'Take no thought for your own body—
The mother will not allow the child to be hurt.'"

IV.

"With all my heart, I am come to you for protection,
With body, and voice, and mind, O God.
Nothing else is admitted to my thoughts.
My desire remains fixed on you.
There is a heavy load on me,
Except you, who will remove it, O God?
I am your slave—you are my Master;
I have followed you from afar.
Tukâ says,—'I have put in an execution for debt,
Grant me a meeting for the settlement of accounts.'"

The last two lines, as Sir Alexander Grant points out, refer to the Indian custom of a creditor sitting down before the door of his debtor, and refusing to move till his claims have been satisfied.

V.

"Lowliness is good, O God; then no man's envy will prevail.
By a great flood trees are carried away,
While the rushes there remain;
If the waves of the river come,
They bend low and the waves pass over them.
Tukâ says,—'This is the fruit of falling low,
No man's strength will prevail against one.'"

VI.

"Spitting out greediness, pride, and hypocrisy, I sing the praise of God;
I am become indifferent to my body, I have no other desire but one.

Considering wealth to be like poverty, I have put it aside ;
Worldly distractions are removed, and Tukâ remains pure."

VII.

" For this cause I have endured toil,
Namely, that my last day might be sweet.
Now I have securely obtained rest,
The motion of my desires has ceased.
I rejoice at the outlay I have made,
By it I have got good fortune.
Tukâ says,—' Salvation is the bride I have married,
Now there shall be revelry for four days.' "

VIII.

" Pity, patience, calm, where these three are, there is the abode of God.
He came running to the house, and finding an asylum there, remains.
In the place where His praises are sung, as a crowd of beggars run (where there is a chance of alms), so he comes.
Tukâ says,—' By mention of his name, worship is performed, and God is obtained.' "

IX.

" For thinking upon God no separate time is required,
It should go on at all times ;
That mouth is blessed, which always utters ' Nárayan.'
Learn to place your affections on the highest,
All else that is spread out is in vain,
So Tukâ advises all men always."

X.

" Salvation is not difficult for us to obtain,
It is clearly to be found in the bundle on our back.
If we desire the pleasures of faith,
Our longing for them shall be satisfied.
You give, O God, each man his due and what is fit :
Acknowledging it to be good, I accept it readily.
Tukâ says,—' If you like, give me this world,
But give me an asylum for my affections.' "

"The great object of horror," says Sir Alexander Grant, "to the mind of a religious Hindoo, is the prospect of being born over and over again into this miserable world. Tukaram's resignation to the will of

God is so great, that he professes himself ready to bear this curse of prolonged individuality, provided only that, as long as he is in this world, he may have God as the object of his affections."

We now come to a denunciation of the uselessness of the ceremonies practised at one of the Hindoo festivals.

XI.

"When Jupiter enters Leo, the barbers and the priests enrich themselves;
In the mind are millions of sins,
But externally the man shaves his head and his beard.
What is shaved, that is removed,
But tell me, what is altered in the man?
His vices are not changed,
Which would be the sign of the removal of his sin.
'Without faith,' says Tukâ, 'all is in vain.'"

XII.

"This is called 'sin,' if doubt remains in the mind;
In the mind itself are both merit and guilt,
The highest good consists of noblest thoughts.
As is the seed, so are the fruits,
Excellent or inauspicious.
Tukâ says,—'To purify the mind, that is good.'"

XIII.

"Having gathered wealth by honest trade,
One should spend it with justice.
He alone will obtain an excellent end,
And will enjoy an excellent banquet,
Who does good to others, and knows not how to reproach them;
To whom others' wives are ever as sisters and mothers;
Who is merciful to the creatures, and cherishes cattle;
And in the desert gives water to the thirsty;
Who is calm and never blames any,
And exalts the dignity of his elders.
Tukâ says,—'This is the fruit of áshramas,*
The climax of asceticism.'"

* The "áshramas" are the four divisions of a Brahmin's life—bachelorhood, housekeeping, retirement, mendicancy.

XIV.

"He who calls those his own
Who are vexed and troubled,
He should be recognised as a saint:
God surely must dwell with him.
He that takes to his heart
One who has no protector,
And shows to his servants
The same kindness which he shows to his sons,
Tukâ says,—'Beyond all expression, he is the image of God.'"

The following expresses the small value of outward signs compared with the internal graces of the heart and mind:—

XV.

"Whoso is pure of heart and sweet of speech,
It matters not if he have a rosary on his neck or no.
Whoso has made clear the way of self-knowledge,
It matters not if he has clotted hair on his head or no.
Whoso is passionless towards his neighbour's wife,
It matters not if there be ashes on his body or no.
Whoso is blind to another's wealth and dumb in blaming,
You may point to him as a saint, says Tukâ."

The next stanza illustrates the strong hold that the doctrine of the eternal identity of the soul had on the mind of Tukaram. One school amongst the Hindoos holds that the soul, after final purification, is as a piece of salt when put into water. The piece of salt no longer exists, though the whole water has become salt. Another favourite illustration is that of likening body and soul to water enclosed in a bottle in the middle of the sea. The bottle at last is broken, and the water it contains at once loses its identity. The opposite school maintains that the soul ever remains distinct from God, and remains contemplating and praising Him for ever; and the following stanza expresses Tukaram's sentiments as to the impossibility of his ever being able to relinquish the praise of the Almighty:—

XVI.

"At first he was one of Khandoba's mendicants,
By good luck he became a captain of horse;
But his beggar's cry would not stop,
His original nature would not depart.
At first he was a village astrologer,
Then a king's throne fell to his lot;
But his proclaiming of the almanac would not stop,
His original nature would not depart.
At first she was a servant,
Then she became chief queen;
But her running about would not stop,
Her original nature would not depart.
At first Tukâ was the companion of saints,
Then he was identified with Pándurang;
But his repetition of the name of God would not stop,
His original nature would not depart."

XVII.

"Who regards this restless world?
My friends are the people of Hari;
My time passes in musing upon God,
Accumulated pleasure remains.
I have no trouble, not even in dreams;
Night and day pass on.
Tukâ says,—'The fruition of God is a feast of excellent flavour.'"

I had here intended closing my extracts from Sir Alexander Grant's interesting paper, but find it impossible to resist quoting what may be called Tukaram's Farewell, which was supposed to be written just before he was taken up into Vaikunth, the heaven of Vishnu:—

XVIII.

"I am going to my village,*
Accept my farewell.
Till this time I have lived in your village:
Continue to think kindly upon me.

* The word village amongst the Hindoos seems to express all that we mean by the word home, and the natives in Munzerabad used often to ask me when I was going to my village; and, in alluding to my departure for England, I used always to say in Canarese, literally, "I am going to my village."

Henceforth there will be no more going and coming.
All talk has come to its natural end.
Utter the names of Râma, Krishna, and Vithal;
Tukâ is going to Vaikunth."

XIX.

"Within and without my house may you live happily;
Give my humble salutation to the elders.
To the sweetness of the honey the bee flies.
When the fold of the garment is torn, it cannot be replaced;
When the stream of the river has reached the ocean,
It never goes back.
Receive this word carefully;
Tukâ has gone; he will never return."

XX.

"O my friends, O good people, take the name of Râma.
Tell me truly, who is there beside?
'Although the gem of our village is lost,
Yet no one informed us,' so you will say;
Therefore I have made known to all my going.
One should not walk in the path of righteousness alone;
With loads of flags and the dinning of drums,
Go the servants of Hari to Pandharpur."

XXI.

"The Pandhari of the people is on the earth;
But I have to go afar to Vaikunth.
Whatever you do, you will not be able to find the way;
Therefore I make this loud announcement.
Behind me you will weep and raise lamentations;
Tukâ will never more return,
So difficult is my way.
There is no royal road on my path."

XXII.

"Tukâ has passed the test,*
Wonder is felt in the three worlds.
Daily he utters praises;
This is his only act of service.
Tukâ has sat in a heavenly car;
The saints see it with their eyes.
God was hungry for faith;
He has brought Tukâ to Vaikunth."

* Sir Alexander Grant points out that the idea is identical with that of St. Paul: "I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course."

I have said that the truths contained in the ancient, as well as, comparatively speaking, the more modern writings, and the traditions of which at least are still alive, form a basis from which we can safely build, and I apprehend that it is only the ignorance and the intolerance of man that have hitherto prevented the attempt. Why should we not enlighten the minds of men, and give an impetus to directing thought in the right way? Why should we abstain from advancing truth because it is in a different form, and does not go as far as we could wish? Is not half a loaf better than no bread? And why should not the God of the old Hindoos—the God who is as much theirs as ours—why should not this God be taught in the village school, and through the medium of selections from the best of the Hindoo books? It often happens that a man will take from one hand what he will not even look at when presented by another. We are told in Mrs. Manning's interesting work that during eight long years Mr. L. Wilkinson tried to convince his friend, Subhagi Bâpû, of the sun's relation to the earth. But it was labour in vain. At last, from happening to meet with the old Hindoo astronomical works, he was enabled to show his friend that the Hindoos, centuries ago, had arrived at similar truths. At once was conviction carried to his mind, and Subhagi Bâpû afterwards became a distinguished professor and astronomer at the Government College of Benares. And thus we see that truths, long ago apparently lost for ever, have a tendency to come to the surface, and, directly or indirectly, take their place in pushing on the mental circulation of the world. And it is of those religious truths which have been smothered, not lost, that I would propose to take advantage, with the view of turning the Hindoo mind to a

purer and better faith. Now, these ideas of insinuati as it were, a purer religion into the minds of m have occurred to many who dare not urge them, or w do not, because they think that the fulness of time l not yet come. But, timidly and tentatively, indicati of the coming opinions are cropping up, and before lo we shall find numbers declaring as plainly as I now, that it is our duty to at least attempt to supply Indian subjects with a religion of some sort, to repl the numberless faiths we have shaken to pieces by knowledge and our civilisation. We shall find numb declaring that as the Indians will not have, and do want, any one of our interpretations of the Bible, it our imperative duty to see what can be done next; see, in short, if they will not allow us to teach them th own ancient faith in as pure a form as it was origina held by the most advanced of their forefathers. And teaching them to know and comprehend these anci religious opinions I would not, it must clearly be und stood, propose for one moment to inculcate the opini as a faith or as a religious system. I would not add allow to be added, one word of commentary, but I wo simply translate into every vernacular tongue, and language calculated to be best understood by simplest of the Indians, collections of sentiments such those delivered by Tukaram, and I would have th translations taught in every village school, and cir lated as widely as possible. I would at least scat the seed, and I would scatter it as part and parcel education, in the sense of rousing and exercising faculties of the mind. For the great thing with th people, as with every other, is to create an appetite a to stimulate curiosity. And, as I have endeavoured

show in another part of this book, this is only to be done by rousing the attention to things which come home to every man—to things which affect his comfort and happiness, and more particularly concern himself. Of these things it cannot be denied that religion, if not, in fact, the greatest means, is at least one of the principal means of creating an alteration in the habit of thought; and if that means is neglected we shall, I maintain, fail to do as much as we might and ought to do for these people. The reader will now understand why I have laid before him at such length these sentiments which lived of old, but which were repeated with additional force by the Maharatta poet. It is with the view of asking him to put it to himself whether, because we cannot teach the whole of our religion, we should not at least commence with a part, and allow that to develop in whatever direction it may.

To propose that this Christian nation should indirectly teach a pure deism is a notion that may, perhaps, startle a considerable section of society in this country; but if the members of that section will only consider that deism is the only path that can ever lead to Christianity, I feel sure that the objections some might have to the teaching I propose will soon vanish. In short, by teaching deism at once, you would only be doing what our missionaries have indirectly aided to bring about, but without any of the evils they have created, and with far greater rapidity, and at an infinitely cheaper rate. Our missionaries may have imagined that they were propagating real Christianity; but if they did so, I am sure that they were, and are, under a real delusion. They have helped merely to revive and develop that school which, amongst the most advanced, has ever

existed in India from the remotest times; they seem, also, to have produced a large number of infidels; and amongst the lowest classes they have obtained a temporary allegiance to the name of Christ, which would entirely fail to maintain itself were the missionaries to be withdrawn from India. But I need not waste time in pointing out any illustrations of the often-repeated truism, namely, that there is no instance of a debased population ever, when left to themselves, maintaining a pure and simple Christianity. It will be more to the point if we allude to the effect of these missionary enterprises, which have, for the most part, been confined to the convenient humdrum of the school-room. Let us glance for one moment at the effect of this school-room Christianity.

And here it is not my intention to weary the reade with evidences of a fact that is so well known: I mea the fact that education, in the sense of that instructio to be got in our missionary schools, has not aided in an way the immediate propagation of Christianity. But th following facts, which I take from Sir J. E. Tennent "Christianity in Ceylon," and those which I give in note further on, will put the reader in possession a few facts which seem to show that the tendency of ou missionary education is to supply a large number of con ceited infidels, who are far worse to deal with tha pagans, and who, besides, by actively scoffing at a religions, exercise a most pernicious influence on society.

Now, it seems to me that you cannot do a mo unsatisfactory piece of work than spend a great deal money in arriving at such a result; and even if you g the result for nothing, it is very questionable wheth it would be worth having, notwithstanding the repeate

assertions that you have done a great deal when you have dislodged a Hindoo from all belief in the religion of his forefathers. But, however the last point may be decided, it seems pretty plain that the result obtained, as shown by facts in the note below, does not justify our missionaries in spending money on education; and if, in future, they will persist in doing so, it seems only fair that they should, at the same time, devote some time in their schools to teaching their Hindoo lads, who will not turn Christians, the best possible form of the old Vedic faith, or, in other words, to teaching a pure deism; for, in that case, the missionaries could at least console themselves that the boys at their schools would not be sent into the world without any religion at all, which, as has been shown, is the commonest result now arrived at. But though, in the Government schools, we may one day hope to see the introduction of deistical books, I am afraid that it is hopeless to expect that our missionaries will ever consent to the admission of what is good as far as it goes, notwithstanding that they must see that, for the present, it is a hopeless thing to attempt anything better.

I have said that the missionary schools made but few Christians.* Now, the fact was known long ago; the

* "The Rev. Howard Malcolm, of Boston, U.S., who, in 1836, made a tour of the missions in Hindoostan and Burmah, in Siam, Malaya, and China, after describing the extent to which education has been carried in their Christian institutions, has thus summed up the inadequate success by which all its labours have been followed as regards conversion to Christianity:—'The proportion of conversions among this mighty host of scholars is certainly very small. It was stated by the late Rev. Mr. Beichardt, of Calcutta, who laboured long in the service of the Church Missionary Society, that of the many thousand boys instructed by this society, only five or six had been converted. At Vepery, a suburb of Madras, where for a hundred years this species of labour had been largely bestowed by the Christian Knowledge Society, the results are scarcely more encouraging; nor at Tranquebar, where schools have been maintained for a hundred and thirty years. In all Madras, where several thousands have been constantly taught in missionary schools, there are not known to be half-a-dozen

evidence given in my note from Sir Emerson Tennent's book was written in 1836, and it is natural, therefore, to inquire why the funds contributed in this country should have been spent so largely in bringing about such results. And here, in answering this question, I am afraid I shall have to bell the cat. To bell any cat is not a pleasant task, but to bell the cat clerical is a thing that I would, if possible, have gladly avoided. However, as I am afraid that I shall have a number of these missionary gentlemen and their supporters down on me in any case, I may as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb, and I shall therefore devote a little space to an endeavour to clear out this great missionary jungle in India.

To commence, then, with answering the question which naturally arises as to the reasons the missionaries have for sticking to their cantonment schools, in spite of

converted natives. At the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, which has existed for twenty years, only a few have been converted, though some twenty or thirty have been brought over to Christianity. In Ceylon, where schools have been conducted for twenty-six years, and generally with more attention to religion than is common in India, few conversions occurred before 1830; and those since that time have been rather the effect of protracted meetings and especial pastoral effort than the school system. Out of the Scotch General Assembly's school in Calcutta, which for six years has had an average of four hundred scholars and the entire and constant attention of two missionaries, there have been but five or six conversions. The Baptist schools in Bengal, numbering thousands of scholars, for more than thirty years past have produced very few conversions. That at Chittagong, taught by a missionary in person every day for sixteen years, with an average of two hundred pupils, has witnessed but two of the scholars brought to a knowledge of the truth. In Arracan no conversion has yet occurred in the schools. Among all the Burmans I know of no Christian who is regarded as the fruit of schools. Among the Karens many scholars have been converted; but the primary and daily object of these schools has ever seemed to be the conversion rather than the education of the scholars. *In places where schools have most abounded, and for the longest time, a considerable number of pupils have rejected heathenism without embracing Christianity, and are now conceited infidels, worse to deal with than pagans. Many of them, by means of their education, have obtained offices under Government, or in commercial houses, and exert a considerable influence against religion.*" —Sir J. E. Tennent's "Christianity in Ceylon," pp. 277-8.

all the evidence we have for asserting that these schools do not lead to conversions, I must inform the public in this country that the sole reason is that the missionaries naturally prefer snug quarters in a cantonment, within reach of a doctor for themselves and their families, to living in isolated situations amongst the simple populations in the rural districts, amongst whom the chances of success would be infinitely greater than they are amongst the people of the towns. Efforts, of course, have been made to dislodge them from the towns; and a friend of mine, a Scotch minister, told me that he once formed one of a small minority which, in the General Assembly, tried to move the missionaries from the towns to the rural districts. But he told me that he and his friends had not the slightest chance of success; and, I confess, I should have thought it a very strange thing if they had. To read about our missionaries in books and to see them at home are very different things; and I well recollect the comfortable bungalow, the snug drawing-room, and all the appearance of a clergyman in easy circumstances, which met my eye when, many years ago, some circumstance caused me to call on a Protestant missionary in Bangalore. And when, added to all this, there is English society to fall back on to while away the evening hours, it is plain that powerful and strong must be the arguments addressed to friends at home in favour of mission-schools in the centres of civilisation. One illustration of this unwillingness of our missionaries to be without European society I may here mention. The facts were communicated to me by an officer of the Mysore Commission, and I can vouch for their accuracy. A good many years ago two Protestant missionaries arrived at the head-quarters of the division where my

friend was then stationed, and asked his advice as to where it would be most advisable to set up a missionary station. This gentleman at once indicated a small native town, or rather large village, where there was a considerable weekly market, which was largely attended by the neighbouring farmers. The missionaries accordingly paid the place a visit, but they soon returned. My friend, when he next saw them, asked them what reception they had met with, and was told that the people were very civil, and even offered to build a school-house if the missionaries would settle amongst them. "And are you going to do so?" said my friend. "Well, no," was the reply; "there is no European society there." And accordingly they set up in the town at the head-quarters of the division, which was a hotbed of Brahmins and Mussulmans; but there was a small English society, and, above all, a doctor. If no other part of the missionary jungle requires clearing, I am sure this does.* But "it's a far cry to Lochow," the missionaries know that, and the people at home do not care; and so the missionary car rumbles on in the same old track, till one day it will be left sticking in the ruts, like some of those idol-chariots which the slumbering Hindoos have left, simply because the zeal which formerly moved them has expired.

There is another point, too, to which the attention of the public here should be directed, and that consists in the tendency that missionaries have to take themselves to other and more lucrative callings. Within my own knowledge one missionary has betaken himself to the Government Educational Department; a second has turned schoolmaster on the Neilgherry Hills; and a

* See Appendix F.

third has invaded my business, and, in short, turned coffee-planter. Now, I have nothing to say against these gentlemen for abandoning their original calling. On the contrary, there is strong presumptive reasoning in their favour, and we may charitably suppose that they abandoned the cause of proselytising on account of the miserable method pursued by those who have the charge and direction of our Indian missions. But their abandonment of their original profession for a more lucrative one cannot but tend to create, or rather to increase, the idea that the missionaries go to India for profit; that they get as much as they can from their trade, and desert it for another the moment a favourable opportunity occurs. Now, without offering any particular opinion as to the motives of these men in going to India, it is evident that their actions must sometimes cause a smell, just as a fly causeth the oil of the apothecary to stink; and I therefore think that every missionary should, for the future, sign an agreement either to retire from India on quitting his mission, or else to abstain from other callings in the country itself.

A third point requiring attention is the luxurious style in which the missionaries live. I do not, of course, mean that they live in a positively luxurious style, taking them to be people pursuing secular callings, but, regarding them as missionaries, their way of living is calculated to produce an effect in the native mind the reverse of what is advisable; and, in short, it is difficult to get the natives to imagine that there is anything particularly sacred in the missionary character, when presented to them in the form of a man who seems to live as comfortably as his neighbours. Not long ago I read in "Mission Life" that a missionary somewhere in the south

of India went about the country with a pony and groom, and actually with a cook. Now, it is alleged that all these comforts are really necessaries of life to a European, and our missionaries assert that they could not exist in India without what would be called comforts, and even luxuries, in other countries. But this is an entire delusion, and, as an instance to show that it is so, I may mention that I once made the acquaintance of a Jesuit priest who was in perfect health. He, of course, had no cook, and his sole servant was his horsekeeper, who boiled the missionary's simple fare; and in going about the country these men live on the food of the country, and, in short, just as the natives do. The salary of this gentleman was, to the best of my recollection, exactly £26 a year, or a sum equal to the pay of the servants employed by one of our missionaries.

Another point deserving of notice is a duty that many missionaries think they must perform, and which they call rebuking idolatry. To people in this country who have not much imagination, or do not trouble themselves to reflect, this may seem a very proper thing to do. But let us suppose that a Chinese missionary had arrived in this country, that he went into the villages* and told the people that Christianity was a snare and a delusion, and was the certain path to perdition, and that they should desist from worshipping false gods, and come over to the religion of Buddha: he would probably be looked upon as an impudent lunatic, be pelted by the boys, and possibly carried to the parish pump. And we may safely assert that, three hundred years ago, his fate under similar circumstances would

* The practice of what is called bazaar-preaching has already been discovered to be a mistake by at least one of our best missionaries.

have been either hanging or drowning. And yet our missionaries in India do much the same thing, and are, I dare say, not a little surprised that they do not wind their way into the affections of the people. When I lived in Mysore I used to take in a missionary journal called the *Harvest Field*, and I there read certainly one of the most original and tasteful ways of rebuking idolatry I ever heard of. One of the missionaries, in giving an account of what he had been doing of late, said that in passing by the village temple he saw a priest engaged in washing the idol, and thinking this a fitting occasion to rebuke idolatry, he said, "Well, yours must be a dirty god to require so much washing."

If the conclusion I have come to as regards the action of our missionaries be well founded, it seems pretty clear that these gentlemen, by devoting so much of their time to education; by living in comfort in the centres of civilisation; by creating an impression, from their way of living, the reverse of what is desirable to establish; and by their system of rebuking idolatry, have succeeded in producing a very unfavourable return for the sums of money intrusted to their charge. And when we take into consideration, further, the pernicious effects they have produced, and the injury they have inflicted on the cause of Christianity by presenting it to the natives* as something that must necessarily tear the whole framework of society to pieces, and interfere with all their social customs, it is plain that a deep and wide-spread reformation of missionary enterprise is urgently needed if people expect to introduce our religion in India. And, in attempting to produce this necessary reform, the first thing to be done, I would venture to

* See chapter on Caste.

suggest, is to sink dogmas and live Christianity. From my intimate experience of these people I feel firmly persuaded that going about on missionary tours, and preaching whenever a few natives can be collected together, is not of the slightest value. A missionary, to be really effective, should locate himself in a part of the country remote from a large town, but where there is a fair population, and he should settle down amongst the people, and cast in his lot with them, putting up at their houses, eating of the family fare, and sleeping on a mat in the verandahs that are commonly to be found in the houses of the more respectable farmers. He should attend to the sick, comfort the afflicted, and spend morning, noon, and night amongst the people, and present himself to them as a man who, forsaking the luxuries and comforts of European life, has resolved to spend his whole time in doing good. And, while acting in this way, he should carefully abstain from offering any opinions on religious matters at all until he is asked for them. Instead of carrying religious dogmas from house to house, and endeavouring to cram them down every man's throat, he should present such an example of excellence as would induce the natives to ask, as assuredly they would do in time, what that religious system could be which was capable of producing men of such exalted self-denial and virtue; and when these questions came, the missionary should then gradually unfold the faith he depended on; he should scatter the seed, and scatter it patiently, remembering that "the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, being patient over it till it shall have received the early and latter rain." Missionary work carried on after this fashion would, I feel well assured,

be of incalculable benefit to the Indians, and would yield in good time an ample return. But, carried on as it is at present, I feel well assured, as I have repeatedly urged, that little good will ever be done to the cause of Christianity, and that the evils that have ensued from our misguided efforts have done, and are at this moment doing, an amount of harm to the cause of Christianity in Asia which it is impossible to exaggerate.

NOTE.—The advisability of living Christianity first of all, and detailing its doctrines afterwards, may not, to the general reader, seem so important as I believe it to be. But whatever may be the case with people who have been bred up in the belief of Christian doctrines, it is plain that when you commence to state them to an acute Hindoo a host of difficulties arise. And, as if there were not sufficient difficulties to be found in the case of the Trinity and of the Virgin Mary, our missionaries seem to be at considerable pains to manufacture fresh ones; and it is quite sufficient to cover any religion with ridicule when you come to preach the resurrection of our earthly and frequently uninhabitable lodgings. I recollect reading of a case in the *Harvest Field*, previously alluded to, where a missionary fell into conversation with a Mussulman on this subject. "What!" said the Mussulman, "do you mean to tell me that this very body of mine is really to rise again from the dead?" Presently the conversation turned on other religious points, and subsequently the missionary observed that this would be a good opportunity for embracing Chris-

tianity. "It may be so," was the answer, "but I'll see about that when I rise from the dead."

The reader, I may observe, will understand better what the Bible says on this subject if he reads, according to Wiclif's translation, "It is sowen a beestli bodi; it shal rise a spiritual bodi," instead of our version of, "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body." The term "animal body," as Dean Trench points out, should have been used instead of "natural body."

APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

A.—Page 202.

I have since received the Administration Report for Coorg for 1869-70, and with reference to the Registration Act, which was extended to that province in the same year that the act was introduced in Mysore (Coorg, though British, is governed by the Commissioner of Mysore), it is stated that "the bulk of the people must still be ignorant of the purposes or advantages of registration," and that, "on the whole, registration seems to have made but slow progress among the Coorgs." This act was introduced in 1866.

A^{2}.—Page 206.

Mr. Bowring's industry, energy, and ability are far too well known to require any remark from me; but the observations I have made on his administration of Mysore might perhaps lead the English reader to suppose that I meant to convey some sort of reflection on his policy, and I therefore think it necessary to add that when I condemn the system he introduced, I am merely offering remarks that may be extended to the whole of British India. Mr. Bowring was, it must be remembered, merely a minister, and to attack him would be very like attacking Mr. Cardwell's administration of the army. As Lord Russell said in his letter to the *Times*, "It is very unfair to blame Mr. Cardwell: he was told to retrench, and he has retrenched." In the same way Mr. Bowring was told to introduce a system, and he did introduce a system.

B.—Page 209.

A Few Facts as regards Indian Government.

I.

The masses in India do not care a straw who governs them as long as they are let alone.

That letting them alone financially is the thing they care most

about; and what worries them more than anything else is the imposition of new taxes.

This is partly owing to an ill-founded objection to new taxes, because they are new, but mainly to a well-founded belief in the fact that every additional kind of tax involves an additional communication with an agent of Government, and that every such additional point of contact will be used as a means of extortion and oppression by the petty native officials.

It is impossible to prevent extortion on the part of the minor officials, and this is an ultimate fact which can never, in our time at least, be altered.

These propositions being assumed, it follows that the Government might raise a million sterling by increasing an old tax with far less unpopularity, and far more cheaply, than it could raise a tenth part of that sum by the imposition of a new tax.

The imposition of new direct taxes of any sort, as the income-tax or local cesses, causes a disturbance in the native mind, and an uneasiness as to what is to come next, which is sure to develop into a chronic state of mistrust, and general discontent with our rule.*

II.

India is a poor country, and can only be made permanently and securely rich by irrigation.

With irrigation everything is possible; without it everything must continue to be precarious.

With irrigation, life may be rendered as safe as it possibly can be; owing to the absence of it, lives have been sacrificed by the million, and may any day have to be sacrificed again.†

* It is, of course, impossible to prove it; but I cannot help suspecting that, quite unconsciously, a fair share of extortion and oppression emanates from our English officials. And I think we may infer deductively that such must be the case, as, whenever the Government is in a strait, the old cry of "Govern leniently, but get more money," is sure to be carried into effect. An educated native official (now retired), who eventually rose to be deputy collector, told me that, with reference to the income-tax, he was instructed by his superiors to get in as much as he could. Finding that he could not show as good a return as his neighbours, he simply issued orders to surcharge every one, and in that way contrived to rival his competitors in extortion. People here would be inclined to censure the conduct of the native in question. I do not. They would also be inclined to ask why complaints were not lodged against the official in question; but those who would be inclined to ask this know little of what goes on in India.

† John Bull, I am sure, has no idea of the loss caused him by Indian famines, or he would have roused himself up long ago, and bestowed on irrigation at least a portion of that stimulus which he has so freely expended on railways. Not to go further back than 1861, I may mention that in that year there was a direct loss of two hundred and fifty thousand lives in the North-west Provinces,

The sacrifice of life means the sacrifice of revenue.

The true base of life and prosperity, therefore, is water.

III.

India being a poor country, the first, and the second, and the third point to be kept steadily in view is to keep down the expenses of the administration.

This cannot be done unless we are content to go without the costly refinements of European administration.

To a neglect of this fact, and to the neglect of irrigation, are to be traced the whole of our present financial difficulties, and a great deal of the unpopularity of our rule in India.

IV.

Our position in India is exactly like that of a man who has enormously over-estimated the resources of his estate, and who, not liking to retrench, is grasping wildly at all manner of straws with the view of keeping his head above water.

The straws that Government is grasping at in India are more railways, and more departments (as agricultural and cotton departments) for developing the resources of the country.

The whole of this straw-grasping will break down; a general increase of the land-tax must inevitably follow. The masses—or, in

and Colonel Baird Smith estimated the losses arising therefrom at four and a half millions sterling. In 1866 we had the Orissa famine, with a loss of seven hundred and fifty thousand lives, and a famine in the Madras territory to the extent of two hundred thousand. The Rajpootana famine of 1868-69 has been computed at one million. These losses, amounting in all to two million two hundred thousand deaths from direct starvation, must have caused an enormous money loss to India, and I leave the public here to calculate how much these people would have spent in cotton stuffs had they not thus been cleared off the face of the earth.

We are always boasting of the superior safety of life under our rule in India, but the fact is that our rule has made life more insecure than ever it was before. We have saved a few people from the Thugs and from Dacoits in general, but we have, by our culpable neglect, slaughtered millions as effectually, and far more miserably than if we had ordered them to be put to the sword outright. In this way we have got rid of nearly two millions and a quarter in ten years, and if we have seasons equally dry (and no one can tell that we may not have seasons even worse), we may, no doubt, succeed, by 1881, in making up the number to about four millions and a half. It is probable, however, that this number will be exceeded, as, from the facilities given by the opening up of roads, many countries in which a famine would have been well-nigh impossible are now in considerable danger. Mysore is one of these. Twenty years ago a famine could hardly have occurred there. Now a famine may occur any year, from values being hoarded in cash instead of being hoarded in grain, as they used to be. (*Vide* pp. 79, 80.) If we could only make John Bull see that famines do not pay!

other words, the agricultural classes—will be impoverished in order that multitudinous officials may fatten, and the general progress of the country will be indefinitely retarded.

V.

For purposes of comparison, the student of Indian affairs need not go farther than the single province of Mysore, with its four millions of inhabitants. This state is quite large enough for this purpose, and its transference from one sort of government to another within very recent times enables us to show most conclusively the fatal tendencies of our system of administration. What these tendencies are has been shown, and if these tendencies are correctly stated, it follows that those who govern India are not statesmen; that they have failed to grasp the leading points of the situation; and that they are, in a word, merely short-sighted departmentalists.

VI.

The Government shows signs of distress. It is at last beginning to discover that it would have been better to have gnawed patiently the bone that has fallen to its lot, instead of trying suddenly to force the country into prosperity by profuse expenditure. It has just awakened to the fact that there is a "wolf behind, a precipice in front." Under these trying circumstances it is interesting to observe the movements of the unwieldy machine. Some wonderful effect is to be produced by decentralising the finances, by levying local cesses, and by a profuse outpouring of departmental oil.* All this, I dare say, will impose on that most gullible of animals, the British public; but it will never, remember, make a rich country out of a poor one—it will never turn a country with wages at two shillings a week into one with wages at two shillings a day.

VII.

It is, of course, ridiculous to expect people in this country to take a permanent interest in India while there are so many interests at

* The last outpouring of this oil is the appointment of Dr. Day to look after Indian fishes in general. This is no doubt a good move, but the thin end of the wedge once in, and it is merely a question of time as to when we shall have a Fish Department. This will just add another stone to the cairn. The fact is that, in a poor country like India, every civilian should look after his own fish. But the most serious danger of this increase of departments lies in the fact that each department is sure in the end to acquire a certain amount of independent action. Now, the head of a special department can see his department's interests very clearly, but he can see nothing else, and it must therefore surely happen that measures right, perhaps, in the abstract, but hostile nevertheless to our rule, will be carried out. As an instance of this see note, page 221.

home, and nearer home, to absorb the public attention. An occasional effort, however, may reasonably be expected just to keep the vessel off the rocks; and if ever there was a time when such an effort was needed, it is at the present moment. To attempt to arouse this sordid nation to even an occasional sense of its duties—to hope for one moment to obtain a hearing for the peoples of India as the peoples of India, is, of course, not to be thought of. I do not appeal to any sense of honour or of duty, or to any of those principles which, I believe, once animated the people of England; but I appeal to that sense of the almighty dollar which is now the predominant, and, I fear, the extinguishing passion in this country. Nor do I think that I shall appeal in vain when I tell the English people here that cotton, and selling markets, and railway shares, and shipping, and a host of moneyed interests besides, depend upon our pursuing an administrative policy exactly the reverse of what we are now carrying out in India.

VIII.

What, let me ask in conclusion, is the natural sequence of progress in governing the peoples of India? We all know that the best system of government is that where the people hold the direction of their affairs. In India not only can this model never be reached for many generations, but there is absolutely no means whatever by which the people can make their wishes known to Government; nor have they even a press which is informed as to how carefully, or rather how carelessly, their revenues are spent. The English press is just as much without sources of information as the Government itself, and its reach hardly extends beyond the bounds of the Presidency towns. Under these desponding circumstances we are driven to ask what is to be done, and what is the best available method of getting the people represented, and their true interests attended to. And here we are forced to the conclusion that, in the inapplicability of all true principles of government, the only person who can possibly approach to a representative of the people is the revenue collector. The interests of the people lie in the economical development of the resources of the country, and his objects are exactly identical with these interests. In India the revenue administrator should be king over all things, small and great, within the section of country committed to his charge—over roads, over education, over irrigation works, over forests, over every subject connected with the material progress of the people. When this base is in any way departed from, it should be modified, not by splitting up this central authority into those disjointed fragments which are called departments, but by surrounding the central authority by a council selected from the leading natives in the country. To jump from a paternal govern-

ment to a departmental one, without any representation of the people, is an absurdity. Departments ought only to exist where they can be kept under control by the representatives of the people. The proper sequence of Indian government may be summed up as follows:—

1. In the first instance the government should be paternal,* and entirely under the control of the revenue authorities, or, in other words, the administrators of the lands of the people.

2. The next step should be to surround this central authority with a council as representative of the people.

8. When, in the course of time, the representative principle has become sufficiently strong and intelligent to exercise a regular influence on the conduct of affairs, then departments should be started with powers more or less independent.

What, lastly, let us ask, is the tendency of our method of governing on the character of the people? Well, in a word, the whole tendency is to make the people daily more dependent, daily more incapable of looking after or thinking for themselves. In former times they did all their own law through the simple agency of punchayets; they collected their own taxes; they turned out *en masse* to execute their own irrigation works. Now they are exactly like children who expect the Government to do everything. Is not the history of the French before us? They have had everything done for them, and look at the result. Years ago, when an idol chariot stuck fast at a feast I was present at, one of the natives said to me quite seriously, "Why doesn't the Sircar (Government) cause the chariot to be pulled?" Thirty years ago that never could have been said. And yet we say that the people have progressed!

C.—Page 255.

I have procured from Germany a pamphlet entitled "The Position of the Leipsic Missionary Society on the Caste Question, 1861," which should be consulted by any one desirous of examining the

* Mysore, up to the introduction of that Public Works Department which Sir Mark Cubbon vainly strove against, was an instance of a model Indian Government under central authorities rising one above another, each authority being complete within itself. That base has been split asunder, and look at the result. There was good hope at one time that Mysore might have been allowed to progress in the natural sequence I have described as being the proper one for India, and that it might have always continued to exhibit a model of Indian government. But the introduction of the first department was the beginning of the end, and the province has been practically swept into the imperial gutters. This may seem a strong term, but in reality it is not half strong enough. In fact, to my mind, the history of our rule in India for the last ten years has been one vast gutter filled with the blood of millions slaughtered by famine, by tumble-down barracks, by money misapplied from one end of the country to the other.

question thoroughly. The opinion of the society is entirely in favour of compromise.

E.—Page 291.

The whole of the facts and quotations regarding the Hindoo religion are taken from Mrs. Manning's valuable work, "Ancient and Mediæval India."

F.—Page 314.

From information subsequently received, I am led to believe that in the northern parts of India, where railways have afforded greater facilities for missionary inspectors, the missionaries do not stick quite so much to the stations as they do in the south. The case in all the southern parts of India is really very bad, and I am informed, by an officer in the Royal Engineers, that to his certain knowledge the missionary societies have bought several houses in Belgaum within recent years. Here the climate is good, and there seems to be a regular colony of missionaries, who can hardly be got into the districts at all, and who remain quietly adding to the white population of the station. For every child they succeed in producing, they obtain an increase of salary, instead of having their pay reduced, as one would naturally expect; for it is evident that "charity will hardly water the ground if it has first of all to fill a pool," and that the more children a man has, the more incompetent he naturally becomes. The fact is that the missionaries should never marry, or, if they do, their pay should be regularly reduced with every child above the number of, say, two or three. Another thing is that, as my engineer informant very justly observed, "a missionary should never show himself inside a station at all."

END OF VOL. I.

PRINTED BY VIRTUE AND CO., CITY ROAD, LONDON.